

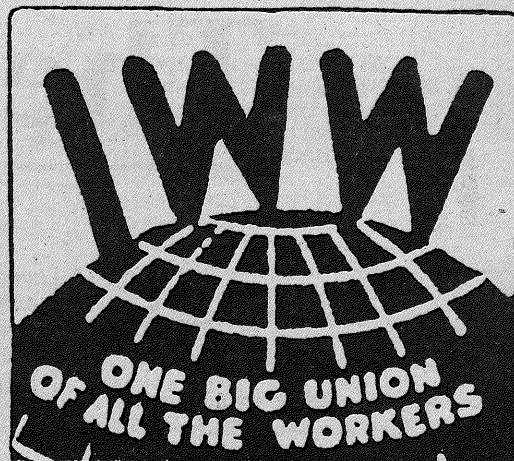
Feeling Tired? Overworked? Constrained?

Abolish Work: Workers of the World, Relax!

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World



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Hold the Phone. . . Wobblies on the Line!

Seattle Greenpeace Phoners Organize To Resist Management Clamp-down

Seattle—In late June Seattle Greenpeace phone bank employees celebrated the largest weekly revenue ever and were congratulated by local Greenpeace management for a job well done. We workers were understandably shocked a few days later to learn that phone room policies were being completely changed. With input from an "efficiency expert" from the National Office, Greenpeace management declared that, except for large amounts which would be paid off in 3 months or less, installment payments (an option offered members who could not afford a lump-sum contribution) were not cost-effective, and \$30,000 in pledge cards were thrown out.

Phoners were ordered (under threat of dismissal) to begin using high-pressure, hard-sell telemarketing tactics in order to increase revenues, with little consideration for the individual member's financial situation. We could no longer use our discretion in setting suggested donation levels, but were made to badger our

phone contacts with successive large requests starting with \$250 and working down.

Greenpeace management also announced that they would soon be installing surveillance equipment (costing thousands of dollars) to monitor phone calls "for training purposes." We protested that the use of such equipment not only demonstrated the National Office's lack of trust in employees but was also a violation of the trust and privacy of members being called. We also suggested (in consultation with the ACLU) that it was illegal in Washington State. Management replied that monitors are very valuable tools and that members "don't need to know" their calls are being listened to. Unless monitors are proven to be definitely illegal, management says the installation will proceed as planned.

Prior to these drastic changes implemented by the National Phone Bank Director, there were approximately 30 phoners in the Seattle

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12,000 Social Service Employees Walk Out

Pennsylvania State Workers Strike Against Union-Busters

In response to a strike vote by Pennsylvania Social Services Union, approximately 12,000 employees of the "Keystone State" walked off their jobs as June ended and the "Happy Birthday America" commercials hit the TV screens for the Fourth of July. The PSSU strike followed by just a few days the acceptance of a concessionary surrender pact by Pennsylvania's AFSCME leadership. With this pact, which had also been dangled in front of PSSU, Pennsylvania AFSCME won a place in the governor's heart by selling short new hires to the tune of 20% on wages and letting the state unilaterally determine all worker leave and sick day allotments through a bogus "discussion-committee" clause.

When news of the state's offer to AFSCME was leaked to the press in early June, many PSSU members immediately recognized an attempt to bust the state workers' unions by piling yet another wage/benefit tier on top of the mixed-up system that already exists. The state obviously wants the inequities so that they can later blame them on the unions which "agreed" to them. To fashion a suitable contract for this purpose, really a computer spreadsheet of divisive bribes intended to torpedo any prospect of unity or solidarity on the part of employees, Pennsylvania's Office of Administration hired the firm of Robert J. Bray & Associates. This firm has risen to prominence in the 1980's by helping to destabilize a number of unions and by wrecking the wage protection and working conditions of many thousands of workers. The attitude of the Commonwealth toward all workers in that state can best be judged by the kind of "consultants" it hires and hides behind.

PSSU, which struck at contract expiration three years ago and was left high and dry by

AFSCME then also, represents workers statewide in welfare and unemployment offices, as well as in state institutions and a variety of other facilities related to the public service sector. It affiliates with SEIU (AFL-CIO) as Local 668. The union's fairly open and democratic structure militates against the kind of superficial bargaining that seems to characterize the Pennsylvania AFSCME approach. This year, as in the past, PSSU has tried to form a negotiating stance based on the demands of the members. This year, as in the past, the politicians, bankers, and assorted pie-cards have resented the implications that a "public employees union" has a right to be other than a patronage scam.

The numbers in favor of fighting the state's "three-tier" proposal improved through the first week of the contest. The vote against the contract was fifty-six percent. That is a good, healthy rejection when you consider the skill of professional hi-tech union busters at contriving a multi-tiered offer that is in effect an elaborate, cost-cutting bribe directed toward a portion of the work force at the expense of others. By July 6, as the strike got rolling, 79 percent of the affected employees were out. Although a few shops statewide saw weak participation, the major strongholds of the union such as the counties surrounding Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, along with Northwestern Pennsylvania, saw from 90 to 100 percent support. Even a number of shops serving rural areas were effectively closed down. In Eastern Pennsylvania twenty nine shops had to rely on State Police to open their doors.

An increase in strike participation may occur as negotiations resume. There is however enormous power behind the state and its drastic restructuring plans for its workforce; the

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Pennsylvania State Employees Assaulted During Picket

Philadelphia, PA—On July 6th, club-wielding Pennsylvania State Police charged into peaceful picket lines of PSSU (Local 668, Service Employees International Union) at a Frankfort Avenue government building. Strikers were knocked to the pavement, beaten, and charged with disorderly conduct. Later this scene was repeated at other PSSU (Pennsylvania Social Services Union) strike sites. A PSSU negotiating team member was assaulted on two separate occasions. On July 12th, supervisory personnel at a district welfare office refused to enter a work site that had been opened up by police attacks on non-violent pickets.

Two injured unionists attempted to file formal complaints at state police barracks, but were "stonewalled" and received no cooperation or due process. The union is taking legal

action against these and other abuses and unfair labor practices, demanding the compliance of the state with the laws it professes to uphold.

The union fears that the state has launched "hard ball" tactics against employees on strike since July 1st as a form of intimidation. Although this appears to be a particularly inept policy for elected officials to pursue, it fits in with the pattern of behavior established by the administration of governor Robert Casey since contracts with about 80,000 state employees came up for renewal. Elected with strong PSSU backing and a standard "friend of labor" pitch, his administration has contentedly sat back while union-busting, concession demands, two-tierism, and violence against strikers has escalated in the Keystone State.

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Editorial

The War on Leisure

by Joseph Jablonski

I seem to be one of the few who remember a certain popular sociological cliché of the late fifties and sixties about the imminent coming of the Age of Mass Leisure. Yet many more of us could probably unbury, if they tried, some dusty and yellowed books, magazines and journals containing alarmist articles and quotations pondering whether we are really ready for the inevitable utopia of almost total leisure. Such concerns and conclusions were pretty much an article of faith among young urban social scientists and graduate students doing "participant observer" style field work among "hippies" and others in those days. "Automation" was not only coming, it was here! Millions were already living high on freebies and throw-aways, or so it was written and repeated. Work was becoming a peripheral aspect of daily life. Leisure was the new frontier. Were we equal to it? With what could "post-industrial man" fill the void in his life caused by his economic obsolescence?

With a straight face, and wearing a red silk tie, the 1980s answered the question: "with exploitation, that's what." Or perhaps, in the light of the much-discussed service economy, "with servitude" says it better. The resilient profit system somehow elbowed its way into the anxious utopia imagined by those perplexed professors. "What the hell are all these people doing sitting around here? Surely they'd like to earn a little money. . . a very little." James Boggs, the black Detroit auto worker and radical union organizer, had long ago rebutted the assumptions of those naive prophets of leisure in his book *The American Revolution, Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook* (1963). He pointed out that these

commentators were working under the assumption that the United States was a socialist society when in fact it was a capitalist society.

Twenty years before it happened, from the threshold of the affluent sixties, Boggs foresaw the "Mean Season" initiated by Reagan for the economic elites who were, of course, perfectly able to launch it without government help if need be. Boggs in effect predicted the new poverty of rampant homelessness that we have today. He said that those no longer needed by the profit system would be thrown bodily out of society and that a kind of social civil war would ensue between those who would cut loose unprofitable human beings to starve as well as those who revolted against such barbarity. He said people from all classes and strata of society would be found on both sides. He was right.

Today's capitalism is social-totalitarian in nature, endeavoring to own humanity body and soul, its time as well as its labor.

One thing Boggs did not foresee, however, was the emergence of the new, deeply totalitarian "work mystique" that has been ushered in to exploit the shaken and divided workforce that is today so vulnerable to technological obsolescence and manipulation by those who monopolize the means of production and subsistence. With this regime there has come not leisure but a cynical demand for unpaid labor by the unemployed poor and others; welfare recipients, prisoners, those on probation for some offense, elderly people, school children

and youth, draft resisters, virtually everyone who is in some definable relationship with civil government. Some of this *command labor* is considered punitive, some of it is considered voluntary, some is labelled "community service". Its tentacles, however, embrace millions of persons in contemporary U.S. society. Politicians vie with each other inventing new schemes to enforce the hegemony of drudgery upon any powerless or dependent section of the population.

Those in the regular workforce are not exempt from the "workfare" ethos either, if one takes a hard look and analyses the way the system addresses its middle class drones and above-minimum-wage employees. There is a relentless pressure on workloads and performance (speedup) and an unending barrage of hype about "productivity", "excellence", "competitiveness", "teamwork", "stress management" and similar virtues appropriate only to the confirmed wage-slave who knows that he or she is under the gun every moment of the day. The demand for self-censorship and conformity is omnipresent, in keeping with the bossist terrorism mainlined into the system by Ed Meese and his friends and clones. Even the widespread use of the vocabulary of business in the mass media in recent years is meant to constantly remind the salaried wage-slaves of their obligations and priorities. To work and produce is the only acceptable value: the existential openness of leisure is a cardinal sin.

The case with school children and youth is particularly damning proof of the brutality and callousness of the current industrial religion. Pressure on school children for increased productivity has intensified in recent years, with a tremendous emphasis on enhancing their future economic exploitability. The pressure has only begun though. There are constant criticisms from the U.S. Secretary of Education asserting that educational improvement is

still lacking and demanding that the work pressures on the young be escalated. And in fact the educational establishment takes all this mobilization of kids under the flag of production very seriously indeed. The movement may account for an increase in teenage and child suicide that has caused alarm in many quarters.

To work and produce is the only acceptable value: the existential openness of leisure is a cardinal sin.

In any case, the conscription of school children into the war against leisure exposes in starkest terms the corporate imperium's fear of leisure; fear of its enlightening, liberating, radical potential. The so-called "world of work" has gradually invaded all areas of human social and personal life since the end of the fifties when the quaint old world of individualistic private capitalism went by the board. Today's capitalism is social-totalitarian in nature, endeavoring to own humanity body and soul, its time as well as its labor. Every social relation, every private mood or personal habit must be mobilized and integrated into the recommended pattern of international business competition, "the Olympic games of wage slavery." Leisure, and even childhood itself, are against the unwritten law promulgated by the financial, industrial, and political elites who ultimately author the unwritten as well as the written codes. The daily suicides, irrational shooting sprees and bizarre killings that are the supreme hallmark of life in "Crazy America" today expose for all who can stand to read about it the non-stop wacko factory that this society has become. "Stressed out" is a glib colloquialism that the managerial elites themselves would use to describe the situation, while emphasizing that *of course it has to be this way and that it's going to get worse.*

The response of the labor movement to this arrogant offensive of the pro-slavery forces, and the ball really is in labor's lap on this issue, has to be equally arrogant. It is useless anymore to bargain over a few hours and days of time off, an extra year or two of retirement, while philosophizing about leisure and carping about the Japanese or Koreans. The question of the abolition of work is what is really on the table. In the viewpoint of this analysis, that means the abolition of the privilege and authority of management itself, which has proven to be a social monster beyond any redemption. Bosses have to be replaced by the free and combined assertion of workers themselves, organized at the point of production and elsewhere into one big union. To put it another way, the war against leisure must give rise to war against work, a struggle to end work as a process that kills the freedom and natural creativity of individuals.

Alley Kat



Grand Rapids, MI—After a particularly disappointing trip through the garbage cans on the property of the Reynolds Metals Company, your old flea-bitten feline decided to see if he could find any food in the plant itself. Once inside I had to hide behind a stack of bumpers so that the plant guard wouldn't nab me.

While sitting there I listened in as he started talking to a couple of fellow workers who had just begun their (way too short) breaks. What I heard was pretty shocking:

"What are we going to do Joe! I can't believe they decided to shut down the factory and move out without any warning!" Joe shook his head and he stated: "Yeah Ed! It certainly is unbelievable. Especially after we took a \$4.44/hr. cut in concessions in wage and fringe benefits. It makes me madder than hell. . . especially since the company as a whole had its most profitable year ever last year, with profits of \$219 million."

Break was over and the workers and the guard took off back to work. After they left I sat there and thought about the years I had come here and pillaged the garbage cans. I remembered how empty those cans were for ten weeks in 1985 while the workers here had been on strike. They had won a small wage increase (not enough to cover their concessions in 1982), some bonuses in lump-sums and a profit-sharing (who gets the biggest share I'll let you guess) plan.

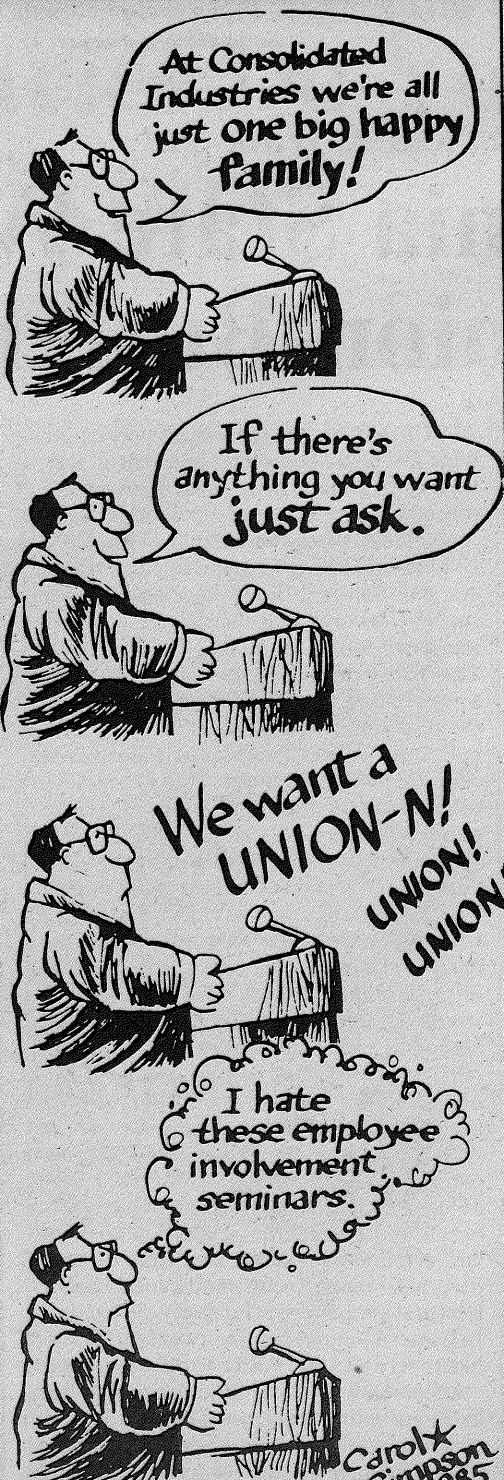
After foraging through a couple garbage cans I listened in to few more conversations and learned a few more interesting things. It seems that the present contract is to run out on August 1st this year. Many of the workers

feel it is a bluff by the company to force more concessions out of the workers here. The company argues that the plant is losing money. I sort of wonder how the Reynolds Co. could have had such a record year if this plant is losing so much money. Of course, the average worker here makes \$9.50 to \$10 an hour. I wonder how this compares to the wages of their fellow workers in Virginia, Kentucky, and Texas? Could this be another run-away-to-the-south factory? I also found it interesting that Reynolds has a history of threatening to shut down in previous contract negotiation years.

After dodging the guard several more times I finally made my way out of the plant. Once outside I saw a UAW Local 277 bumper-sticker. I thought about the past strikes this local had waged. Some of them were very militant. How ironic it is that one of the 336 workers who are losing their jobs at this plant is Kenneth Beiber, president of Local 277 and the son of Owen Beiber, the UAW International President who has done much to force the UAW into accepting concessionary contracts in order to get "job security." One has to wonder if this blow that is so close to home will change good ol' Owen's opinion and actions any.

As I climbed onto a fence and walked across it I thought about how lucky I am to be a Kat, since no one exploits me and throws me away when they are done with me. Perhaps someday the workers will come to the conclusion that the only way to get "job security" will be to take control and operate the factories themselves.

ALLEY KAT
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INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World

ONE UNION

ONE ENEMY

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*Work is the source of nearly all the misery in the world.
Almost all the evil you'd care to name comes from working
or from living in a world designed for work.
In order to stop suffering, we have to stop working.*

The Abolition of Work

by Bob Black

No one should work.

Work is the source of nearly all the misery in the world. Almost all evil you'd care to name comes from working or from living in a world designed for work. In order to stop suffering, we have to stop working.

That doesn't mean we have to stop doing things. It does mean creating a new way of life based on play. By play I mean also festivity, creativity, conviviality, and maybe even art. Play isn't passive. Although we all need a lot more time for sheer sloth and slack to offset employment-induced exhaustion, once we have recovered, nearly all of us will want to act in some way.

A life of play is totally incompatible with the reality of modern life. Curiously—or maybe not—all political ideologies believe in work. Liberals say we should end employment discrimination. I say we should end employment. Conservatives support right-to-work laws. I support the right to be lazy. Leftists favor full employment. I favor full unemployment. Ideologies will carry on endlessly about wages, hours, working conditions, exploitation, productivity, profitability. They'll gladly talk about anything but work itself despite its impact on all our lives. Unions and management agree that we ought to sell the time of our lives in exchange for survival, although they haggle over the price. Marxists think we should be bossed by bureaucrats. Libertarians think we should be bossed by businesspeople. Clearly these ideology-mongers have serious differences over how to divvy up the spoils of power. Just as clearly, none of them has any objection to power as such and all of them want to keep us working.

The alternative to work isn't just idleness. As much as I treasure the pleasure of torpor, it's never more rewarding than when it punctuates other pleasures and pastimes. Nor am I promoting the managed, time-disciplined concept called "leisure"; far from it. Leisure is non-work for the sake of work. Leisure is the time spent recovering from work, a frenzied but hopeless attempt to forget about work.

You may be wondering if I'm joking. When I say I want to abolish work, I mean just what I say. My definition of work is *forced labor*. Work is production enforced by economic or political means. But not all creation is work. Work is never done for its own sake, it's done on account of some product or necessity that results.

Usually work is employment, i.e., wage-labor, which means selling yourself on the installment plan (and this is even more true in "communist" than capitalist countries, where the state is nearly the only employer and everyone is an employee). Thus 95 percent of Americans who work, work for somebody else. In the USSR or Cuba or Yugoslavia or Nicaragua or any other socialist country, the corresponding figure approaches 100 percent. Only the embattled Third World nations—Mexico, India, Brazil, Turkey—still have significant concentrations of peasants who live under the arrangement of most laborers of the last thousand years: payment of taxes (ransom) to the state or rent to parasitic landlords in return for being otherwise left alone. Even this raw deal begins to look good to many of us in the industrial world.

But in the modern world, people don't just work, they have "jobs." One person does one task all the time. Even if the task is somewhat interesting (as increasingly many jobs aren't) its endless exclusivity drains the potential for playfulness. A job that might engage a person for a reasonably limited time is just a burden to the one who must do it for 40 hours a week with no say in how it should be done. That it is done for profit of owners who contribute nothing to the project makes it worse. This is the real world of work.



The degradation that most workers experience on the job is the sum of assorted indignities that can be called "discipline." Discipline consists of totalitarian controls at the workplace—surveillance, rote work, imposed tempos, production quotas, punching in and out, etc. Discipline is what the factory and the office and the store share with the prison and the school and the mental hospital. It is something historically original and horrible. It was beyond the capacities of such demonic dictators of yore as Nero and Genghis Khan and Ivan the Terrible. For all their bad intentions, they just didn't have the means to control their subjects as thoroughly as modern despots do. Discipline is the distinctively diabolical modern mode of control.

Play is just opposite of discipline. Play is always voluntary. It shows an aristocratic disdain for results. The player gets something out of playing; that's why he plays. But the core reward is the experience of the activity itself. Conversation, sex, dancing, travel—these practices are surely play.

Work makes a mockery of freedom. The official line in the U.S. and Canada is that we all have rights and live in a democracy. Those unfortunates who aren't free like us live in police states. They obey orders no matter how arbitrary. The authorities keep them under regular surveillance. State bureaucrats control even the smallest details of everyday life. Dissent and disobedience are punished. Informers report regularly to the authorities. All this is supposed to be a very bad thing.

And so it is, although it is nothing but a description of the modern workplace. The liberals and conservatives and libertarians who attack totalitarianism are all phonies and hypocrites. There is more freedom in any moderately de-Stalinized dictatorship than

there is in the ordinary American workplace. You find the same sort of hierarchy and discipline in an office or factory as you do in a prison or a monastery. In fact, as the French philosopher Michel Foucault has shown, prisons and factories came in at about the same time, and their operators consciously borrowed from each other's control techniques.

There is more freedom in any moderately de-Stalinized dictatorship than there is in the ordinary American workplace.

A worker is a part-time slave. The boss says when to show up, when to leave, and what to do in the meantime. He tells you how much work to do and how fast. He is free to carry his control to humiliating extremes, regulating, if he so desires, the clothes you wear or how often you can go to the bathroom. With a few exceptions he can fire you for any reason, or no reason. He spies on you by means of snitches and supervisors; he amasses a dossier on you. If you talk back you are accused of insubordination, just as if you were a naughty child.

This demeaning system rules at least half the waking hours of a majority of men and women for most of their lives. Anybody who says these people are "free" is lying or stupid. You are what you do. If you do boring, stupid, monotonous work, chances are you'll end up boring, stupid, and monotonous. Work is a much better explanation for the creeping cretinization around us than even such significant moronizing mechanisms as television and education. People who are regimented all their lives are psychologically enslaved. Their apti-

tude for autonomy is so atrophied that they develop an acute fear of freedom. The obedience training at their jobs carries over into the families they start, thus reproducing the system. Once you drain the vitality from people at work, they'll likely submit to hierarchy in politics, culture, and everything else. They're used to it.

We are so close to the world of work that we can't see what it does to us. We have to rely on outside observers from other times or other cultures to appreciate the extreme pathology of our present position. There was a time in our own past when the "work ethic" would have been incomprehensible. We have only to draw upon the wisdom of antiquity to put modern work in perspective. The ancients saw work for what it is, and their view prevailed until the industrial revolution, which was accompanied by the rise of Calvinism and the Protestant work ethic.

Socrates said that manual laborers make bad friends and bad citizens because they have no time to fulfill the responsibilities of friendship and citizenship. He was right. Because of work, we keep looking at our watches. The only thing free about so-called free time is that

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Specialists Without Spirit:

The Protestant Ethic and the World of Work

The idea that modern labour has an ascetic character is of course not new. Limitation to specialized work, with a renunciation of the Faustian universality of men which it involves, is a condition of any valuable work in the modern world; hence deeds and renunciation inevitably condition each other today.

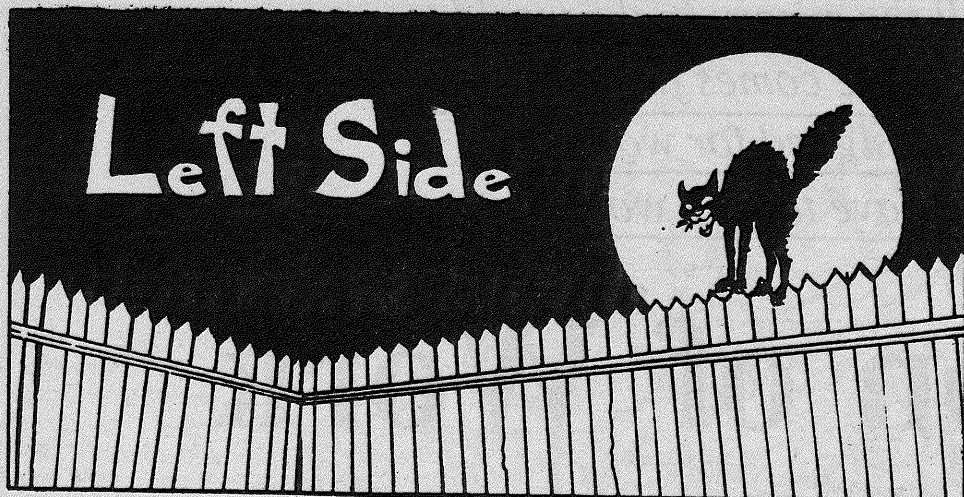
The Puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force. Perhaps it will so determine them until the last ton of fossilized coal is burnt.

Since asceticism undertook to remodel the world and to work out its ideals in the world, material goods have gained an increasing and finally an inexorable power over the lives of men as at no previous period in history. Today the spirit of religious asceticism—whether finally, who knows?—has escaped from the cage. But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer. The rosy blush of its laughing heir, the Enlightenment, seems also to be irretrievably fading, and the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs.

No one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise, or there will be a great rebirth of old ideas and ideals, or, if neither, mechanized petrification enmeshed with a sort of convulsive self-importance. For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might well be truly said: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved."

Max Weber

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism



The other day your scribe was handed a clipping of recent vintage entitled *25 Wars Are Still Going On*. Yes, Gentle Reader, I was quite dismayed though not overly surprised for as had been noted in a previous column, "war is the health of the state." According to this clipping, more wars were fought this past year than in any other year previously.

Over the past few decades the War Lords have been racking up a formidable record. Latin America has had some 265,000 people killed in various skirmishes, some 400,000 killed in the Near East, way over a million in Africa, and some 200,000 in Asia. It has been estimated that since the end of the second World War, the grand total of all conflicts has resulted in the loss of 17 million lives. War being the health of the state, one can easily surmise what has been the result of the "emerging nations" that have come out since the end of World War II.

While one does not wish to be accused of longing for the good old days of colonialism, there must be better ways of "emerging" than to merely emulate the ways of the old colonial powers. Of course it would be grossly unfair to attribute the proliferation of warfare to the "emerging" nations insofar as the erstwhile major colonial powers do their bit to keep peace everlasting at bay. They are the ones who manufacture and distribute the implements of warfare and when an emerging nation shows any sign of technological backwardness, are more than willing to bring them into the 20th Century.

This, Fellow Worker Readers, is what the bite in your payroll is paying for. Yes, you have done your bit towards shooting down that planeload of people who thought they were having a pleasant trip over the Persian Gulf. We are being told that the commander of this boat was acting in self-defence but one has to wonder what in the Hell that boat was doing in the Persian Gulf in the first place. All those boats out there along with their trigger-happy commanders takes quite a big hunk out of the pay you never see.

Both Freedomland and the Worker's Paradise spend around a billion and a half dollars a day on military "defense." So take heart, Fellow Worker Freedomlanders, you have a lot in common with your Fellow Workers in the Soviet Union. You both could have a much better life if you weren't paying for the upkeep of your respective military parasites. Seems like your two nations have some "emerging" to do as well.

When Freedomland's top banana was addressing some university students over in the Worker's Paradise, some of the students asked the great defender of human rights about the treatment of the American Indians. In typical Hollywood fashion he stated that the Indians have been "humored" and not encouraged to come into the "mainstream". He apparently was hoping that these Russian students were every bit as misinformed on Western Hemisphere history as are their colleagues in Freedomland.

One has to acknowledge the sad fact that the greatest source of information concerning Freedomland for the rest of the World comes via the silver screen. The Hollywood screenwriter's talent for distorting history even puts the official historians to shame, so Ronnie was only being consistent with the ethics of his trade which encompasses both the matinee idol and the elder statesman. It is no accident that a dotty old movie actor has become the window dressing for one of the world's super powers.

If anyone is guilty of humoring, it is the Indians who were guilty of humoring the invader, if being constantly backed up against the wall can be called humoring. Unfortunately many of our fellow denizens of Freedomland think that Indian history as well as the Indians themselves are now in the past. There are still Indians and they are still being robbed of what land they have left, Big Mountain in Arizona and the Paha Sapa in South Dakota, being only two of the most blatant examples.

While the silver screen cowboy did not meet with the Indians who were behind the Iron Curtain at the same time he was, they no doubt have been updating the locals on Western Hemisphere history. Back at the ranch Freedomland's original title-holders have been vehemently protesting Mr. Top Banana's remarks. Such insensitivity can only be surpassed by such deeds as the Crusader's sacking of Byzantium, and proves once again that it is no accident that a dotty old movie actor has become window dressing for the modern day Crusaders.

During the time of Ronnie's visit behind the Curtain, I was informed by a young colleague in Europe that the Media coverage over there focused on our beloved statesman's senility. Senile rulers are nothing new in history. Some senile rulers "rule" for life, others are changed every four years, but there always remains the power behind the throne. The control of large populations cannot be entrusted to just one or a handful of persons. The real rulers are invisible as far as the teeming masses of the ruled are concerned but the teeming masses of the ruled are provided with their figureheads. As long as manipulation is performed competently behind the figureheads, the qualification of a figurehead can be quite lenient, giving truth to the old saw that any child can become president.

The Indians of old, being primitive and unsophisticated, did not have quite the same rulers and figureheads their invaders had. In fact, the term, "chief" was an invention of the invaders. When they were looking for someone among the locals who would sell out their own people and were successful in finding someone so inclined, this individual was immediately bestowed with the title of "chief". Such has been the official government policy toward the Indians up to this day in determining who are their representatives or rulers.

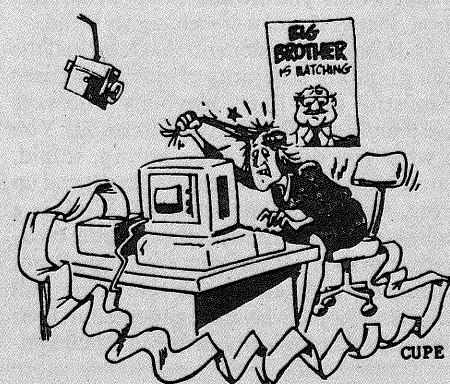
There was no such thing as an absolute ruler among the Indians. If there was anything inviolably sacred to the Indians, it was the Earth herself. The Indians were practicing ecology before their colonizers even had a word for it. Perhaps the Indians wouldn't have minded having their land taken from them so much if only the invaders had taken over their reverence for the land as well. In the space of two centuries a once clean and beautiful continent has become despoiled and dirty. Why can you no longer cup your hands to drink from this land's waterways or breathe the air without choking?

As of this writing a fire still rages from an offshore oil rig in the North Sea and when that fire is finally put out millions of gallons of oil will kill the surrounding marine life and who knows what the underwater currents will do to additional marine life as well as the future food supply around the rest of the Earth.

The forests of Europe are dying and waterways around the World are becoming not only unsafe to drink but also to bathe in. This is happening for the benefit of a small minority of profiteers, be they of the free enterprise variety or the people's republic variety. In today's age of the developing potential of solar energy, why should there be the making of vacuums in the bowels of Mother Earth just because the profiteers are unable to imprison the Sunlight?

No the light of the Sun can never be imprisoned, but unless we humans do something about the aberrations in our society, we shall enjoy less and less sunlight every day.

C. C. Redcloud



Wobblies Injured and Arrested by "Flummoxed" Toronto Cops

Several Wobs and other protesters who took to Toronto's streets at the conclusion of the annual Toronto Anarchist Conference on July 4 were beaten and arrested by a veritable army consisting of uniformed Ontario Provincial Police, Mounties, mounted Metro police and countless plainclothes officers.

"Anarchists are anarchists," explained Staff Sergeant Bill White in response to accusations of excessive force on the part of police. Several immigration officers were also present, looking for what they said were the "foreign elements." According to a report in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, "police appeared flummoxed by young protesters who knocked off their hats and taunted their horses."

For four hours the protesters snaked through Toronto's downtown district, frustrating police efforts to contain them by suddenly dispersing and regrouping elsewhere at pre-determined locations. At least twice—according to published reports—mounted cops charged the crowds swinging at protesters with riding crops. One woman was trampled by horses and several others were injured, including Toronto IWW member Dave Watts, whose shoulder was dislocated. According to one

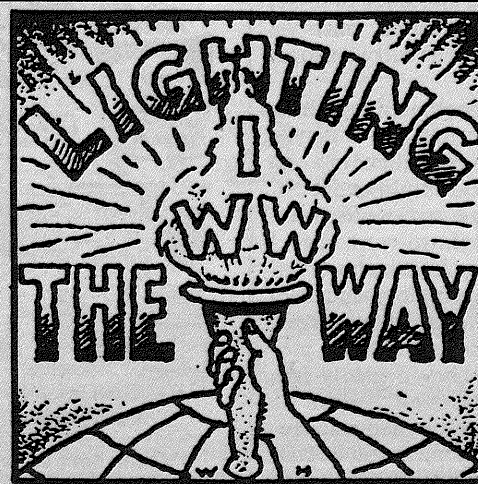
participant, three protesters were hospitalized in intensive care units, while several others suffered cracked ribs and broken limbs.

One policeman's ear was bitten, another chipped a tooth, and a third was hit on the head with a stick, according to the *Globe and Mail* report.

Other Wobblies arrested that day were Mike Mehaffy of the Denver-Boulder Branch and Richard Carpenter of the Atlanta IWW. Those arrested were charged with such offenses as "mischief", obstructing police, assault, possession of marijuana, and "assisting in resisting arrest."

U.S. protesters were held on charges of entering the country illegally and forced to post a minimum \$200 bond. According to a report received in Chicago subsequent to the arrests, U.S. protesters were told that they would have the option of posting bond and leaving the country by midnight July 5th or remain to stand against charges of belonging to "terrorist" organizations.

Thanks to the quick action of the Toronto Branch, funds were raised to post bonds and U.S. protesters were released and transported over the border, where housing was provided by New York IWW members.



Pennsylvania...

(continued from page 1)

outcome cannot be predicted at the present stage. As a PSSU steward put it three weeks ago, "Bray is the sound a jackass makes." Bray is still speaking for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. But perhaps more significantly, the bray of the jackass, echoing through the plush offices of the Pennsylvania Office of Administration, is ultimately the

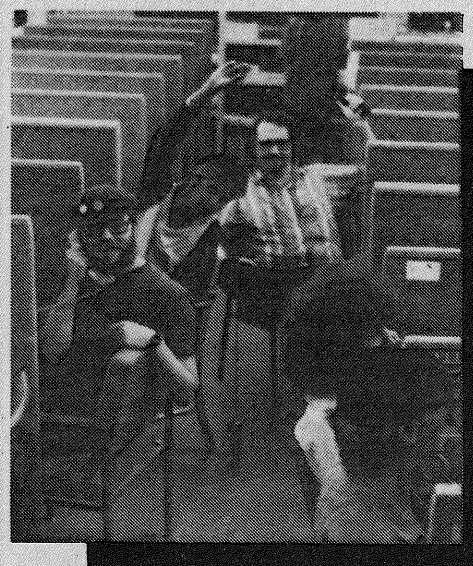
voice of the political and financial elites of the Keystone State. That voice is calling for a low-wage profile and a "union-free environment" (with a make-believe-union label marked AFSCME?) All this, brothers and sisters, to make straight the way, in fear and trembling, for the New Messiahs of the American-Way-Of-Life-To-Be, the Japanese investors.



Seattle Greenpeace...

(continued from page 1)

office, making this the largest of Greenpeace's three regional phone rooms. Within one week's time, the number had dwindled to under 15. Local phone room supervisors were



fired, and long-standing and productive workers quit in response to non-existent prospects for employee input in the new phone room policies.

Citing the Greenpeace ethic "not only to bear witness, but also to take action, direct non-violent action, to protect the environment"

(from the membership brochure), over half of the remaining employees have formed an IWW job branch to assist us in our struggle, both for internal organization and to bring in the support of the larger labor and environmental movements. Furthermore, in keeping with Greenpeace's tactic of dramatically bringing to the public the abuses of private corporations, we are prepared to widely publicize our situation.

We are asking for letters of support and outrage to be sent in our behalf to Greenpeace management. Correspondence should be directed to: Seattle Greenpeace Workers Organizing Committee (Industrial Union 670, IWW) c/o 412 NE 63rd Street, Seattle, WA 98115. Please do not hang up on this call for Solidarity!

News Flash

Negotiations have begun! We have received a verbal promise to temporarily delay the installment of surveillance equipment (it is already in place at the Boston Greenpeace phone bank). Management explicitly refused concessions on all other points and made it clear that the other points were no longer subject to discussion.

A petition asking for voluntary recognition of our union as the official employees' bargaining agent for the Seattle phone bank has been referred by local management to the Greenpeace National Board of Directors for action.



Regimented Labor and the Sunday Neurosis

Love of Work and Fear of Play

by Paul Garon

"He has always regarded work as a degradation, as the dreadful lot of adults."

Geza Roheim
The Origin and Function of Culture

"The labor of Sisyphus, which to the Greeks was a horrible punishment, has become the ideal of the modern industrialist."

Alfred R.F. Winterstein
"Zur Psychologie der Arbeit"

It is the tension in these two statements that is the focus of our concern. The mode of production and the structure of the family are inextricably linked and their concurrence presents us with a combination of repressive conditions which all true revolutionaries dedicate lives to overthrowing.

This discussion focuses on one condition which has drawn our attention not only through its enigmatic character, but through its importance in the everyday life of men and women everywhere: That combination of social and, especially, psychological values which contributes to making work seemingly a *desirable* activity for so many people who, moreover, feel discomfort when they are provided with what they find to be an "excess" of leisure. Indeed, another way of stating the focus of our investigation is to say we are intrigued by the manner in which leisure comes to be regarded as excessive. In the following pages we will attempt to unearth some of the specifically psychological roots of the phenomenon.

In *Civilization and Its Discontents* (perhaps Freud's most discontented work), Sigmund Freud provides this insight:

No other technique for the conduct of life attaches the individual so firmly to reality as laying emphasis on work; for his work at least gives him a secure place in a portion of reality. . . . Professional activity is a source of special satisfaction if it is a freely chosen one. . . . And yet, as a path to happiness work is not highly prized by men. They do not strive after it as they do other possibilities of satisfaction. The great majority of people only work under the stress of necessity, and this natural human aversion to work raises most difficult social problems.

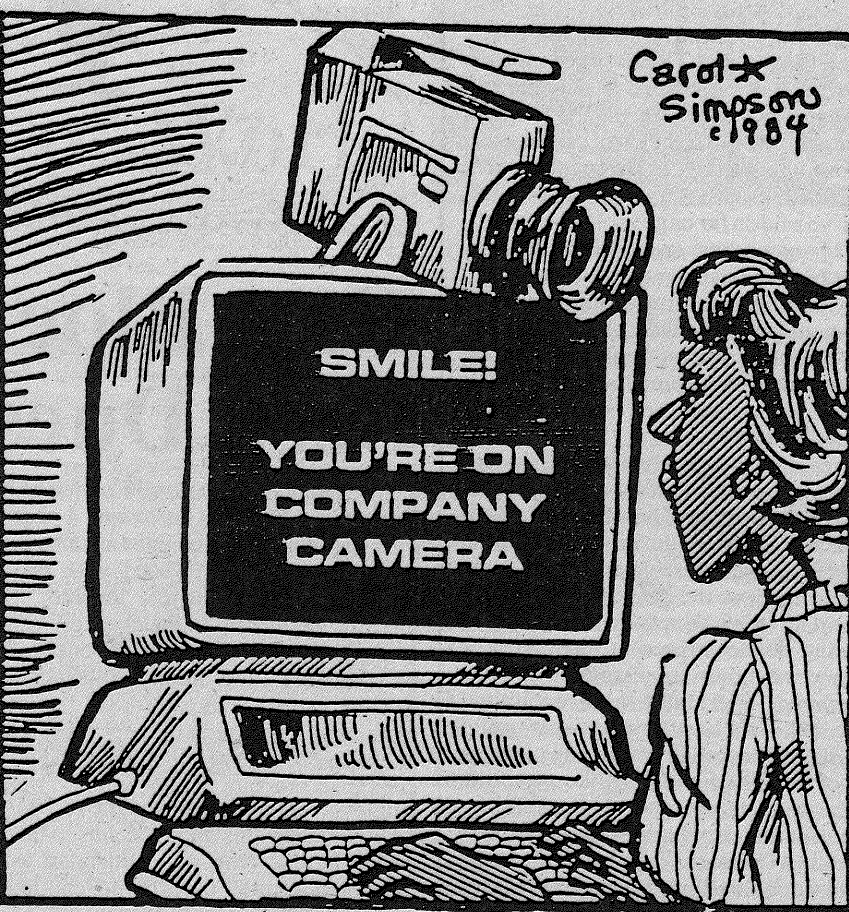
In this one paragraph, Freud poses the question in a vital and useful form. He grants that the human aversion to work is "natural", which all experience confirms, even as we've learned that "natural" refers to a specific set of social conditions and not to the realm of biology and physiology. But he has also posed the social and psychological question by suggesting those counter-forces which make work a *social* necessity and therefore, as implied in the opening lines of the paragraph, a psychological necessity, i.e. a force through which it assumes the characteristics, or the historical disguise, of something desirable. He has pointed to the fact the work can have an impelling force *beyond the economic*, yet still be the destructive force we know it to be. These forces are located in the relationship between psychological processes and the dialectical processes of history.

What is most obvious is the manner through which the positive valuation attached to work becomes internalized throughout the development of the individual, through the family structure and the parents, through teachers and other trainers. We also know how violations of internal as well as external demands can lead to unconscious guilt and conflict. In a more specifically psychoanalytic sense, we can say that it is the participation of the super-ego which determines whether or not an activity is work or play. A classic definition has it that the "super-ego is that part of the mind that is soluble in alcohol." The super-ego, of course, is that agency which maintains control of the individual through the internalized prohibitions of infancy and childhood, and through free use of the commands DO NOT and SHOULD NOT.

The psychic value associated with work in our society is such that it becomes for some

individuals one of the few locations (psychic and geographic) in which esteem is attached to competent performance. These individuals derive from work a large portion of their sense of value and worth. While this could be contained within the notions of conscience and work ethic, these latter terms obscure more than they clarify. About the workplace in particular it must be mentioned that this precise location functions as a center of social activity for the overwhelming majority, and this is what Freud had in mind, in terms of reality-testing, when he wrote of work as attaching "the individual so firmly to reality".

to apply to a greater extent to longer periods of leisure, and consequently a few more psychoanalytical observations on Sunday Neurosis may prove revelatory. Karl Abraham echoed Ferenczi's findings when he commented that work has functioned, for many, as a defense against libidinal expressions or as an escape from libidinal demands. He noted that on Sunday, when such demands threaten to break through, the resulting extreme discomfort or symptomatology is usually attributed by the family, as well as by the family doctor, to "overwork"! Precisely because Sundays are supposed to be enjoyed, they are *not*, said Abraham, for they



*Even when it is enjoyed,
leisure as it is regimented today
fails so utterly to realize
its true capacity that it must be considered
only slightly less annoying than toil.*

That the source of displeasure is often unconscious is even more obvious when we turn to the complementary aspect of work as pleasure. For many, leisure is felt to be unpleasant, a fact of no little significance to the revolutionary movement. This displeasure, readily noticeable among the retired and numerous others who complain of having "too much time on their hands," manifests itself in a diversity of forms: Depression, disorders of time sense, derealization, loss of motivation for work or play, repetition of "meaningless" tasks, with all of the foregoing felt as uncomfortable; along with these psychological changes there are numerous somatic disturbances such as headaches, gastrointestinal symptoms, alterations of appetite, lowering of pain tolerance, etc.

In 1919 Sándor Ferenczi listed several of these somatic complaints in his article "Sunday Neurosis," in which he also suggested that the external liberation (the leisure of Sunday) engendered an internal one, the latter of which threatens whoever "has much too dangerous impulses to control which he must guard closely, particularly when tempted by the bad examples of others." The "bad examples" refers to pleasures indulged in by others, and Ferenczi points out that the Sunday neurotic also experiences self-punishment fantasies (again, not necessarily consciously) mobilized against the repressed impulses that are straining to return.

What can be said about the discomforts of Sunday, insofar as they are a result of leisure as such and not attributable to other material associated with Sunday (e.g. religion; see the "Inquiry on Sunday" in *Arsenal 2*) would seem

remind many persons of their sexual inhibitions and cause these same persons to respond with guilt at this very inability to enjoy themselves. This recalls a passage from Ferenczi's article, not translated in the English version of his selected papers but appearing with Abraham's comments which were published in *The Psychoanalytic Reader*. Ferenczi was once told that Sundays were characterized by a "laziness which you can't enjoy."

Replacing the words "illness" and "accident" by "loss of work", we may quote Abraham who gives us not just the link between Sunday and leisure in general, but an excellent summary perspective of the problem as one involving "excess leisure" and not just loss of work. "In such cases, the popular tendency is to connect the neurosis etiologically with the illness, the accident, or whatever else may have occurred previously. But in many cases it can be ascertained at once that the repressed libido has overpowered the patient during the period of enforced inactivity."

There is no use being alive if one must work. The event from which each of us is entitled to expect the revelation of his own life's meaning. . . is not gained by work.

Andre Breton

Moreover, leisure, in the present epoch, whether it is enjoyed or not, must be subject to the same critique. Even when it is enjoyed, leisure as it is regimented today fails so utterly to realize its true capacity and potential (how tempting here to bring up the possibilities of love) that it must be considered only slightly

less annoying than toil. It is hardly necessary to point out how people spend their leisure: enjoying the sunshine (how nice!), shopping for tombstones (but always their own—why not their boss's!)—let us not speak of television or cameras. Indeed, there is no need to enumerate those activities engaged in or not during the horrible Sundays, the pathetic little weekends, the vacations that are nothing but breadcrumbs. They are all nothing.

One's visions must ferment beyond the present; it must peak beyond the revolutionary insurrection and the ensuing economic and political transitions. One must pierce the opacity that keeps one from seeing beyond those stages to the realm of the dream, the realm of the triumphant imagination, the era of the unfettered image—the time when the fantastic loses its invisibility and the marvelous becomes materialized.

For those to whom such visionary distance and depth are a matter of course—an inescapable consequence of a critique that is truly total—it is evident that there is no way to separate the problems of work, leisure and character structure from the revolutionary potential of a new world order founded upon a heightened respect for the inviolable primacy of the unfettered imagination and of free, uninhibited creativity.

Nothing less can be tolerated.



This article, which originally appeared in the surrealist journal *Arsenal 3*, has been specially revised by the author for inclusion in *Industrial Worker*.



Attractive Work: "Effort Without Weariness"

... the technique for the emancipation of work within the sphere of production is being perfected, and is paving the way for the time when even in industrial work, man's occupation will be pleasurable. And the day will come when with the machine as the friend of man, everyone will be occupied according to his or her particular preferences, and doing pleasant work. Then their pleasure will spring from their work "like the coloured petals of a life-giving flower." This image of Ruskin's is a bright reflection of his philosophy as a socialist-humanist writer, but those who search in the writings and speeches of writers and artists of the XIXth century would find not a few equally eloquent endorsements of Fourier's idea of "attractive work".

D'Annunzio took as his own the motto of the times of the Communes: "Effort without weariness", an admirably concise and clear saying, for effort is a law of work, however attractive it may be. The Italian poet has only vaguely guessed the social truth of this motto and only superficially felt its intrinsic moral beauty.

"Effort without weariness" means free work, work in which the personality is uplifted and perfected. How it may move from wishful thinking to historical fact is the problem to be discussed—and we anarchists are the most suited for such an examination; for in the producer we see, first and foremost, a human being; for the cold formulas of the production statisticians are not enough for us—they fail to see what immense treasures are hidden in the deviated and dissipated energies of those who perform the daily drudgery without intellectual light or pleasant feelings, atrophying the wings of their personality and transforming them, in the course of a few years, into ever less human machines.

Camillo Berneri
The Problem of Work

Workers of the World, Relax!

The Abolition of Work

(continued from page 3)

it doesn't cost the boss anything. Free time is mostly devoted to getting ready for work, going to work, returning from work, and recovering from work. No wonder Edward G. Robinson in one of his gangster movies exclaimed, "Work is for saps!"

The only thing free about so-called free time is that it doesn't cost the boss anything. Free time is mostly devoted to getting ready for work, going to work, returning from work, and recovering from work.

The Kapauku people of West Irian have a conception of balance in life, and work only every other day, the day of rest designed "to regain the lost power and health." Even the exploited peasants of the Middle Ages wrested substantial time back from their landlord's work. According to historians, a full fourth of the French peasants' calendar was devoted to Sundays and holidays. (See "Why tribal people and peasants of the Middle Ages had more free time than we do," *Utne Reader*, Sep./Oct. 1987, p. 58).

To grasp the full enormity of our deterioration, however, consider the earliest condition of humanity, without government or property, when we wandered as hunter-gatherers. English philosopher Thomas Hobbes surmised that life then was nasty, brutish, and short. Others assume that life was a desperate, unremitting struggle for subsistence.

The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, surveying the data on 10th century hunter-gatherers, exploded these myths in an article entitled

"The Original Affluent Society." (See "The Stone Age: The good old days," *Utne Reader*, May/June 1988, p. 12). They worked a lot less than we do, and their work is now hard to distinguish from what we regard as play. Sahlins concluded that they worked an average of four hours a day, assuming they were working at all.

What I've said so far ought not to be controversial. Many workers are fed up with work. There are high and rising rates of absenteeism, turnover, employee theft and sabotage, wildcat strikes, and overall goldbricking on the job. Yet the prevalent feeling, universal among bosses and also widespread among worker themselves, is that work itself is inevitable and necessary.

I disagree. It is now possible to abolish work and replace it, insofar as it serves useful purposes, with a multitude of new kinds of activities. To abolish work requires going at it from two directions, quantitative and qualitative. On the one hand, on the quantitative side, we have to cut down massively on the amount of work being done. At present most work is useless and we should simply get rid of it. On the other hand—and I think this a revolutionary new idea—we have to take what useful work remains and transform it into a pleasing variety of gamelike and craftlike pastimes, indistinguishable from other pleasurable pastimes except that they happen to yield useful end products. Creation could become recreation. And we could all stop being afraid of each other.

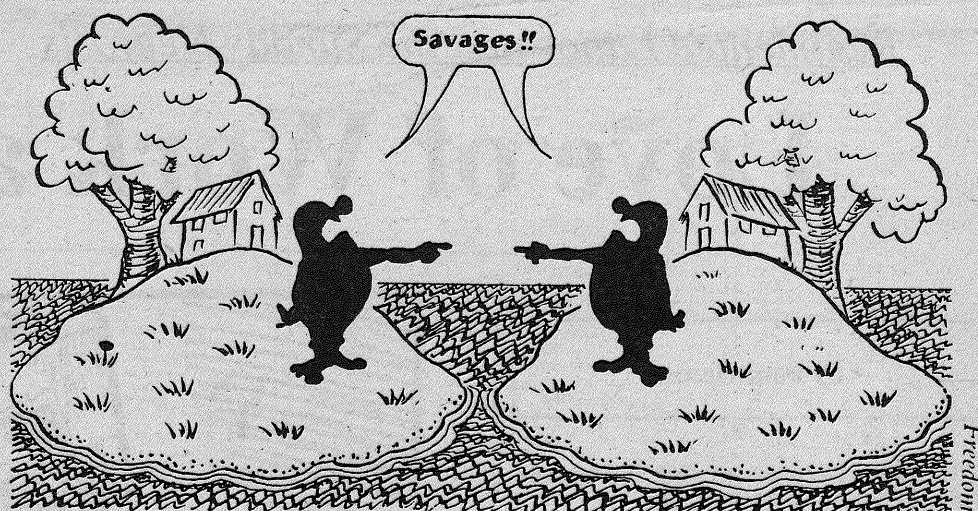
You are what you do. If you do boring, stupid monotonous work, chances are you'll end up boring, stupid, and monotonous.

Only a small and diminishing fraction of work serves any useful purpose apart from the defense and reproduction of the work system and its political and legal appendages. Twenty years ago, Paul and Percival Goodman estimated that just 5 percent of the work being done would satisfy our minimal needs for food, clothing, and shelter. Their figure was only an educated guess, but the point is clear: Directly or indirectly, most work serves the unproductive purposes of commerce or social control.

Eliminate work, and right off the bat we liberate tens of millions of salespeople, soldiers, managers, cops, stockbrokers, clergy members, bankers, lawyers, teachers, landlords, security guards, ad executives, and everyone who works for them. There is a snowball effect, since every time you idle some bigshot you liberate the flunkies and underlings.

Forty percent of the work force are white-collar workers, most of whom hold the most tedious and idiotic jobs ever concocted. Entire industries, such as insurance, banking, and real estate, consist of nothing but useless paper-shuffling. It is no accident that the "tertiary sector" of the economy (the service sector) is growing while the "secondary sector" (industry) stagnates and the "primary sector" (agriculture) nearly disappears. Because most work today is unnecessary except to those in power because it ensures they stay in power, workers have been shifted from relatively useful to relatively useless occupations. It's a way to assure public order. That's why you can't go home just because you finish early. They want *your* time, enough of it to make you theirs. That's why the average work-week

(continued on page 7)



East Bloc Pie Cards Seek Dues Check-Off

The Hungarian National Council of Trade Unions (sic) SZOT is borrowing a page from their capitalistically-inclined counterparts in the business unions. Faced with declining membership (and, hence, income), SZOT piecards are turning to the checkoff system.

As is the case Stateside, the checkoff will be "voluntary," as is union membership. (That is, sign up once, and pay for the rest of your working life.) But once they get your signature on that piece of paper, that's it. (And with the combined pressure of the "union," state and employer apparatuses brought to bear, just how voluntary this all is remains to be seen.)

Earlier this year, some Budapest workers circulated a leaflet in response, entitled "Out of the Unions!" Seventeen thousand full-time union officials live on workers' membership fees, these workers note, but while these piecards "mouth attractive slogans about protecting the industrial workers...their main concern is to safeguard their own power."

"Allegedly the union is a democratic organization, except it will not have its membership interfere with its decisions..." the leaflet continues. Not only should workers refuse to agree to the dues check-off, "But this is not enough. Let us leave the unions and form committees to safeguard our interests... Let us demand a radical reform of the union charter... new elections and let us elect our own candidates to union posts. In the ever worsening economic situation we alone can protect our own interests."

Thus, these fellow workers call for a union movement that protects workers' interests "in every factory, in every office" that supports "all spontaneous initiatives, all united efforts...to safeguard these interests," that demands "the rights to strike and...support[s] strikes wherever justified," and fights for citizens' rights, for the freedom of association and for the freedom of the press."

This leaflet is interesting for two reasons. First, it shows that despite more than thirty years of "socialist" repression, the Hungarian state has been unable to crush the fighting spirit of our fellow workers—who continue to recognize that only through organization at the point of production and through self-management can workers hope to build a better world.

And it shows that the struggle against the piecards is universal. Where workers do not control and run their unions themselves, directly, these "unions" everywhere become an obstacle to workers' struggles and develop a clique of piecards with interests of their own—interests often diametrically opposed to those of the working class as a whole. This can be seen in the way the AFL-CIO leadership has lined up behind the racketeers who run the Teamsters (along with the Laborers and other

AFL affiliates). It can be seen in the concessions and labor-management cooperation schemes being shoved down our throats by piecards in "conservative" and "progressive" unions alike. And it can be seen by the universal appeal (universal among piecards, that is) of the dues check-off.

The Industrial Workers of the World has always recognized that employer collection of union dues through the check-off is incompatible with unionism. The check-off, in effect, makes the employer the union's financial secretary—turning over control of the union's funds to the class enemy. Should the employer refuse to collect union dues—or, having collected them, refuse to turn them over to the union's elected officers—the union is as good as dead. (This has happened in several instances in recent years.) During the last miners' strike in England, the NUM was handicapped in its efforts to reach striking members and counter Coal Board propaganda by the fact that it had no up-to-date membership records—having for decades relied upon the employer to collect its union dues—and thus no way of contacting those miners who were not actively involved in the union.

And the dues check-off deprives workers of one of the most potent weapons they can use to defeat an entrenched bureaucracy. As our Hungarian fellow workers note, "Against all appearances, the unions depend on us, so we ought to force them to serve us... if the leaders are scared they will talk to us." Where workers refuse to pay their union dues, piecards have little choice (unless directly on the company payroll) but to respond to their grievances—otherwise they're out of their cushy jobs. But with the dues check-off, a dues strike becomes impossible.

Without the check-off, union officers are forced (whatever their preferences) to make regular contact with the rank & file in order to collect their dues. This gives the members an opportunity to air their grievances and gives officers an opportunity to encourage members to attend union meetings and otherwise take an active role in the union. (An active member, after all, is far more likely to feel a part of the union, and thus pay his or her dues.) With the check-off, it is all too easy for even the most well-meaning union members to let such contacts slip in favor of seemingly more-pressing business.

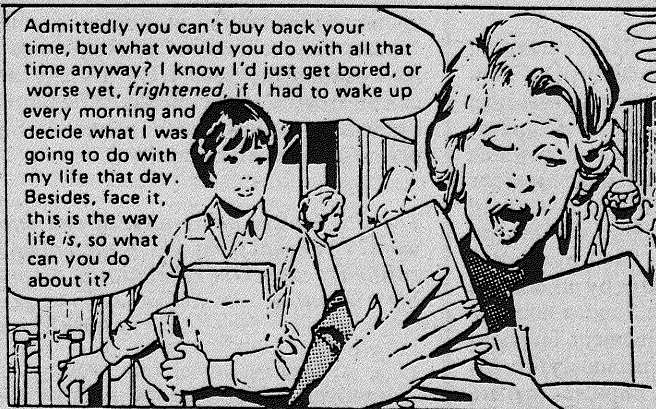
There are a myriad of reasons to oppose the dues check-off, and equally as many reasons why piecards and employers alike have embraced it from Hungary to the good 'ole US of A. Is there a check-off on your job? What are you doing to get rid of it, and to restore control over the union's finances to the members?

Jon Bekken

The Leisure Class in Antiquity: Social Class and the Distribution of Labor

... The Polynesian islanders generally show this stage of the [aristocratic "leisure-class"] development in good form, with the exception that, owing to the absence of large game, hunting does not hold the usual place of honour in their scheme of life. The Icelandic community in the times of the Sagas also affords a fair instance. In such a community there is a rigorous distinction between classes and between the occupations peculiar to each class. Manual labour, industry, whatever has to do directly with the everyday work of getting a livelihood, is the exclusive occupation of the inferior class. This inferior class includes slaves and other dependents, and ordinarily also all the women. If there are several grades of aristocracy, the women of high rank are commonly exempt from industrial employment, or at least from the more vulgar kinds of manual labour. The men of the upper classes are not only exempt, but by prescriptive custom they are debarred, from all industrial occupations. The range of employments open to them is rigidly defined. As on the higher plane already spoken of, these employments are government, warfare, religious observances, and sports. These four lines of activity govern the scheme of life of the upper classes, and for the highest rank—the kings or chieftains—these are the only kind of activity that custom will allow. Indeed, where the scheme is well developed even sports are accounted doubtfully legitimate for the members of the highest rank. To the lower grades of the leisure class certain other employments are open, but they are employments that are subsidiary to one or another of these typical leisure-class occupations. Such are, for instance, the manufacture or care of arms and accoutrements and of war canoes, the dressing and handling of horses, dogs, and hawks, the preparation of sacred apparatus, etc. The lower classes are excluded from these secondary honourable employments, except from such as are plainly of an industrial character and are only remotely related to the typical leisure-class occupations.

Thorstein Veblen
The Theory of the Leisure Class



Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous



*The degradation that most workers experience on the job
is the sum of assorted indignities
that can be called "discipline."*

*Discipline is what the factory and the office and the store
share with the prison and the school and the mental hospital.*

*Discipline is the distinctively diabolical
modern mode of control.*

The Abolition of Work

(continued from page 6)

hasn't gone down by more than a few minutes in the last 50 years!

The second stage in abolishing work is to bring an end to production of useless goods: No more war production, nuclear power, junk food, feminine hygiene deodorant—and above all, no more auto industry to speak of. An occasional Stanley Steamer or Model T might be all right, but the autoeroticism on which such pestholes as Detroit and Los Angeles depend is out of the question. Already, without even trying, we've virtually solved the energy crisis, the environmental crisis, the ozone crisis, and assorted other social problems.

Finally, we must do away with the largest occupation—the one with the longest hours, the lowest pay, and some of the most tedious tasks around. I refer to the job of housework and child-rearing. By abolishing wage labor and achieving full unemployment, we will undermine the division of labor based on sex. The nuclear family as we know it is an inevitable adaptation to the demands imposed by modern work for wages. Like it or not, as things have operated for the last century or two, it is economically rational for the man to bring home the bacon, for the woman to provide him with a haven in a heartless world, and for the children to be marched off to schools (primarily to keep them out of Mom's hair but incidentally to acquire the habits of obedience and punctuality so necessary for workers). Bound up with the new non-nuclear family strategy comes the abolition of childhood and the closings of the schools. There are now more full-time students than full-time workers in this country; we need children as teachers, not students. They have a lot to show us because they're better at playing than grown-ups are.

I haven't even mentioned the possibility of cutting way down on the little work that remains by automating it. All the scientists and engineers and technicians freed from bothering with war research and planned obsolescence should have a good time devising means

*What I really want to see is work
turned into play. A first step is to
discard the notions of job and
occupation.*

to eliminate fatigue and tedium and danger from activities like mining. Undoubtedly they'll find other projects to amuse themselves. Perhaps they'll set up worldwide multimedia communications systems or establish space colonies.

Perhaps, I myself am no gadget freak. I wouldn't care to live in a push-button paradise. I don't want robot slaves to do everything; I want to do things myself. There is, I think, a modest place for labor-saving technology, though the historical record is not encouraging. When productive technology went from hunting and gathering to agriculture and on to industry, work increased. We should be more than skeptical about the promises of the computer mystics. They work like dogs. Chances are, if they have their way, so will the rest of us. But if they have any particular contributions that would be easily subordinated to human purposes, let's give them a hearing.

What I really want to see is work turned into play. A first step is to discard the notions of *job* and *occupation*. Even activities that have some content lose most of it by being reduced to jobs that certain people, and only those people, are forced to do to the exclusion of all else. Is it not odd that farm workers toil painfully in the fields while their air-conditioned bosses go home every weekend and putter about in their gardens? After the abolishment of work, we will witness the Golden Age of the Dilettante, which will put the Renaissance to shame. There won't be any more jobs, just things to do and people to do them.

The secret of turning work into play is to arrange useful activities to take advantage of whatever it is that various people at various times enjoy doing. To make it possible for

some people to do the things they enjoy, it will be necessary to eradicate the irrationalities that afflict these activities today. I, for instance, would enjoy doing some (not too much) teaching, but I don't want coerced students and I don't care to suck up to school administrators for tenure.

*No one can say what would result
from unleashing the creative power
stultified by work. Anything could
happen.*

Second, there are some things that people like to do from time to time, but not for too long, and certainly not all the time. You might enjoy baby-sitting for a few hours in order to share the company of kids, but not as much as their parents do. The parents meanwhile profoundly appreciate the time to themselves that you freed up for them, although they'd get fretful if parted from their progeny for too long. These differences among individuals are what make a life of free play possible. The same principle applies to many other areas of activity, especially the primal ones. Thus many people enjoy cooking when they can practice it seriously at their leisure, but not when they're just fueling up human bodies for work.

Third, some things that are unsatisfying done alone or in unpleasant surroundings or at the orders of an overlord become enjoyable if the circumstances are changed. Activities that appeal to some people don't always appeal to all others, but everyone (at least potentially) has a variety of interests and an interest in variety. Small children, for instance, who notoriously relish wallowing in filth, could be organized in little hordes to clean toilets and empty the garbage, with medals awarded to the outstanding. Bear in mind that we don't have to take today's work just as we find it and match it up with proper people, some of whom would have to be perverse indeed. To some extent we may want to return to handicrafts, which English designer and socialist William Morris considered a probable and desirable upshot of communist revolution. Art would be taken back from the snobs and collectors, abolished as a specialized department and catering to an elite audience, and its beauty and creation restored to everyday life. After all, the museum-quality Grecian urns we write odes to were used in their own time to store olive oil.

No one can say what would result from unleashing the creative power stultified by work. Anything could happen.

Life would become a game, or rather many games, but not—as it is now—a zero/sum game. An optimal sexual encounter is the best model of productive play. Nobody keeps score, and everybody wins. The more you give, the more you get. If we play our cards right, we could all get more out of life than we put into it; but only if we play for keeps.

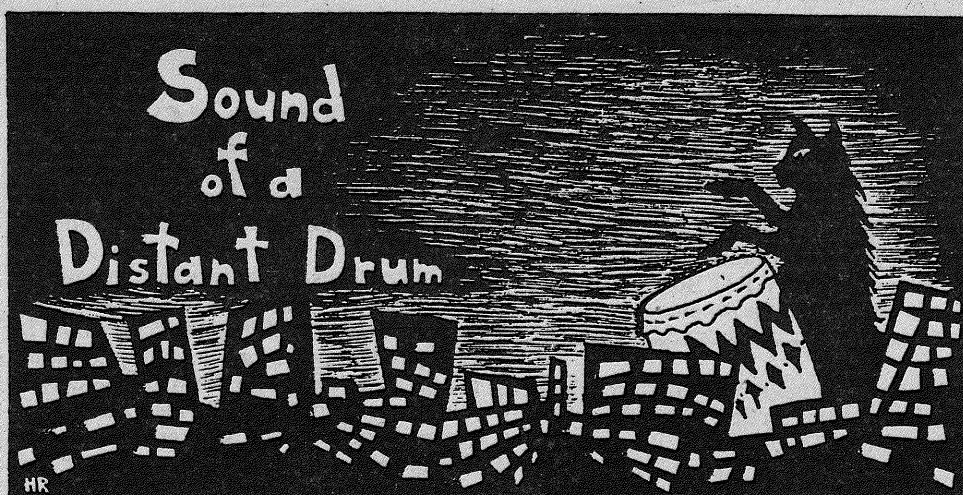
No one should ever work. Workers of the world... *relax!*



\$2000 Per Household

The Energy Department's estimate of \$110 billion as the maximum amount required to pay for the cost of cleaning up radioactive and toxic pollution from its bomb-producing plants is far too low, say officials of the Congressional General Accounting Office, who placed the figure at about \$175 billion.

They also said that new discoveries of contamination spreading from 17 major bomb-production sites and several other smaller plants would probably push the cost even higher. At \$175 billion, that comes to nearly \$2000 for every household in the U.S.. Some of the plants' cleanup problems date all the way back to the Manhattan Project, the World War II crash program to beat the Nazis in developing the atomic bomb, as well as to later operations which continued for years with wartime-style shortcuts in the disposal of radioactive wastes.



LONDON—The British Left from the Communist Party and the unions to the British Labour Party are engaged in their perennial Happy Hour, slapping each other upon the brows with the literary and resolutionwise versions of the political water-filled pigs bladders. We libertarian guardians of the Sacred Flame of Eternal Truth are never involved in this political mud-wrestling as the vast majority, votelesswise, refuse—for historical and personal reasons—to talk to the other vast majority and all accept, without a show of hands, that I am the only one who is always (on points of moral principles and the correct interpretation of the True Creed for the lads and lasses) correct. But for the British workingclass who in a half-hearted way believe that a leftwing-orientated mass workingclass organization can bring into being in their lifetime a secure and better way of life and faith in their own workingclass organizations is draining away.

Kinnock, as leader of Britain's Labour Party, is at this moment fighting for his political life as leftwing pressure and a rightwing press seek to get him kicked out as leader of the Labour Party in the coming internal party voting. Howling in the wings are a sorry crew of political hacks crying pie in heaven for the masses and top union money making anti-Kinnock noises.

Scargill of the miners' union is publicly and openly in the affray for he rightly feels that the miners in their long strike were sold out by the Labour Party leadership and the TUC union godfathers and he attacks Kinnock for a betrayal of socialism. This is the argument of those who seek to unthrone Kinnock. They point to China moving into a paternalistic managerial society as the betrayal of socialist principles. They view Mikhail Gorbachev's desire for economic, social and legal reforms with a wary eye, for they see the deal that Kinnock is seeking to make with tory economics leading into a dangerous political swamp.

While one can applaud Kinnock and Gorbachev's good intentions they have to make deals with the very enemies of liberty and the people, and history teaches that the bastards take over again. Within the union movement the mass craft union, EETPU, is waiting to be expelled from the Trades Union Congress for transgressing every union rule with the exception of pinching the maid's derrier. Masterminded by Eric Hammond, the union's secretary, this suave well-tailored union boss has rejected the old-time but still breathing moustachios who drink beer in the union offices and take an occasional stint on their members' picket line in favour of the boardroom wheeler dealings. Like the American Teamsters, Hammond's electricians hold the industrial testines of this small island in their tool bags. Hammond is dancing from boardroom to boardroom signing NO STRIKE deals with anyone with a felt-tip pen. At Orion he signed a NO STRIKE deal and SINGLE UNION when he did not have a single union member

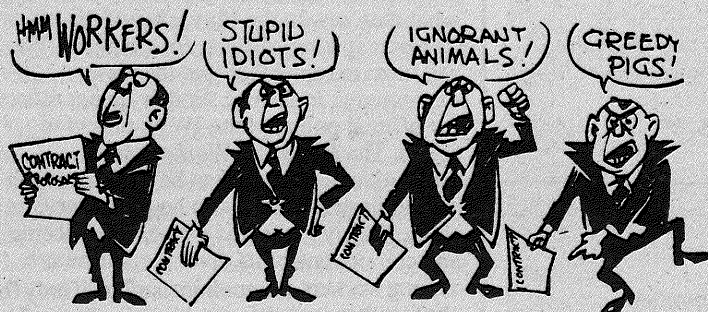
working there. At Christian Salvesen, Hammond's EETPU signed a SINGLE UNION deal at two depots when at all other depots the workers belonged to other unions. None of these workers were consulted. The employers love Hammond and it is reported that ten more major employers are queuing up to sign NO STRIKE-SINGLE UNION deals with his EETPU.



These company sweetheart contracts do not guarantee higher wages or better working conditions for the contracted labour force; not only that, if they don't like it the one single workingclass weapon, to withdraw one's labour, is signed away from them. I have asked and I have asked but cannot get an answer of what will happen if a group of workers tied into a company sweetheart contract come out on "unofficial strike" over what they hold to be an unjust treatment. Can they be individually sued by the company and the EETPU union? Would their picket line be illegal? If scab labour was driven through their picket line would the EETPU union bosses and Mr Hammond support that breaking of picket lines and help to introduce the scab labour into the workplace? Does the EETPU union agree to pay the company compensation because of that rebel work force? What action would the company take in relation to its distributing end if the company distributed perishable goods or daily consumed materials as with newspapers etc.? Hammond and the EETPU is due for expulsion from the T.U.C. for his American-style unionism but he just grins into the TV cameras, so comrades, we wait to see how this union soap opera will show who fired the shot or who is the real father, etc. If only the godfathers of Britain's T.U.C. had had a fraction of these guts during the miners' long strike then perhaps the workers would not daily be seeing their limited liberties torn away tory-wise or American unionwise.

Karpol has introduced strippers and blaring music into the Nag's Head Pub and so we—Charlie, Peter, Frank, drifting companions and I—sit in the White Hart Pub's silent darkness and tempers become frayed.

Arthur Moyse



Fred Wright

Book Review

In Praise of Idleness

Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society, Edited by Vernon Richards. London: Freedom Press. Available from Charles Kerr Publishing Company (P.O. Box 914, Chicago, Illinois 60690) \$8.95 postpaid.

"The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right," wrote Thoreau. The dilemma of vocation—i.e. the question of whether one's personal means of subsistence serves to hasten or to forestall the ultimate arrival of a more equitable social order—has always been an important concern among workingclass radicals; many would argue that since the late 19th century the dilemma of vocation has assumed a place of central importance, inseparably bound as it is to our experience of an increasingly seamless integrated and centralized society.

This anthology, first published in 1983 and now available in a new edition, consists of 30 articles and essays which argue for an economic order designed to serve the needs of the individual and community rather than the pathological exigencies of profit-taking and compulsory consumption.

Included are several classic texts, such as William Morris's "Useful Work versus Useless Toil," Bertrand Russell's 1932 essay "In Praise of Idleness," Kropotkin's "The Wage System," and Camillo Berneri's "The Problem of Work," (*Il Lavoro Attraente*), in which is

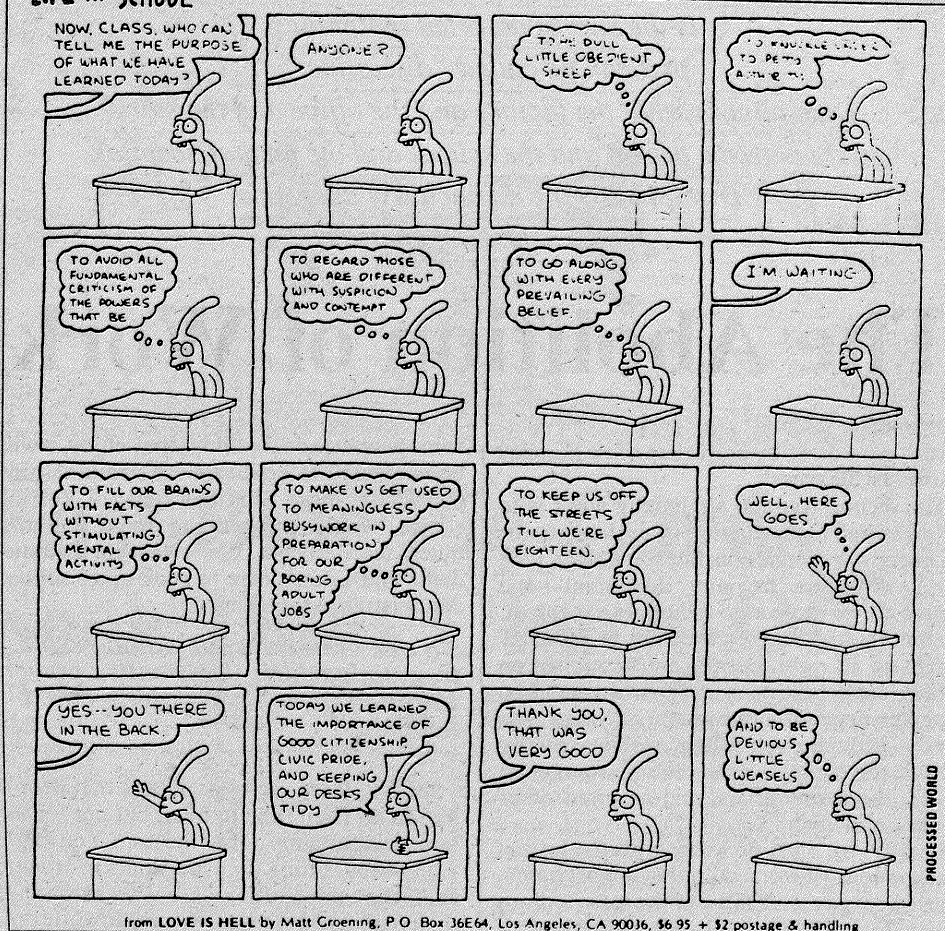
promoted the idea of "attractive work," a re-statement of Fourier's so-called "butterfly principle".

Other essays probe the achievements and problems of alternative economical systems—the Israeli Kibbutz, the collectives in the Spanish revolution—and look to future possibilities stemming from the perceived revival of vitality among dissident community groups, squatters and worker-collectivists. Clifford Harper's pictorial essay (with a textual commentary by Colin Ward) provides us with a visual depiction of what the post-industrial collective might resemble, in six fold-out plates. In each of the proposed collectives, the sought-after criteria consists of a decreased dependency upon any and all centralized services, craftsman-like production on a pre-industrial scale, cooperation and freedom from obligation to work in a social environment where the division of labor and the polar opposition between "work" and "avocation" is virtually eliminated.

Though often dated (they span a period of seven decades) each of the essays in this volume argue for a future society organized on decentralist, non-obligatory principles, and they each share the view that the power to realize such a society lies in the hands of the workers themselves, by virtue of their ability to simply refuse jobs which are socially harmful or (at best) totally useless.

Brian Myers

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Book Review

Organizing In the 1980s

Taking On General Motors: A Case Study of the UAW Campaign to Keep GM Van Nuys Open, by Eric Mann; Center for Labor Research and Education, UCLA.

Eric Mann, a ten year veteran of the auto factories, has written a useful and informative account of organizing in the 1980s. Confronted with threats to close the GM Van Nuys assembly plant—the last of five auto factories in California—members of UAW Local 645 organized to keep the plant open and to resist the repressive "team concept" on the shop floor. *Taking On General Motors* is a valuable history and analysis of Local 645 member's Campaign to Keep GM Van Nuys Open ("the Campaign") from the viewpoint of a shop floor activist/organizer/participant.

Van Nuys assembly workers abandoned the UAW "International's" tactic of stifling anti-plant closing organizing until it's too late and the plant is closed. Instead, this group of factory workers has been organizing for the past five years to prevent the closing of the shop by organizing support for a regional boycott of General Motors products (to occur in Southern California if GM shuts down the Van Nuys plant). The primary counter-attack by General Motors is the "team concept," a package of shop floor concessions and repressions wrapped in the rhetoric of "worker involvement."

The Campaign has organized wide-spread support for keeping the plant open. Much of the support is based in the Chicano and Black communities from which a majority of Local 645's members are drawn. Community support and community debate of the issues has strengthened worker resistance and sharpened the struggle on the shop floor.

The tactics of earlier decades, while helpful to understanding where we've been, are not a map for action today.

Opposition to the Campaign has come from opportunists in the union local and staffers within the "International" UAW. The company has allied openly with some individuals willing to sell out their fellow workers.

The auto sit-downers at Cleveland and Flint in 1936 who won the first national auto contract refused to negotiate plant by plant. In the 1980s the company/union policy of "whipsawing" pits Local against Local in a quicksand of competition among fellow workers to see who can grant the most concessions the quickest. In '36, industry was structured such that workers at a key plant or two could shut down the corporation giant. This is no longer the case. Legislatures have made many useful tactics illegal. Corporations have restructured

to eliminate vulnerable spots and to globalize the battle ground. The tactics of earlier decades, while helpful to understanding where we've been, are not a map for action today. The tactics and strategies which are needed now are those which work now.

The mobility of capital in abandoning factories and communities is overwhelming. It cannot be countered on the shop floor alone—not without the shop floor struggle. From Mann's account it is clear the fight to maintain a militant shop floor resistance and organize the boycott are one fight—fought on two fronts. A third front—reclaiming the UAW from bureaucrats in Detroit—is opening up in union halls, factories, and in regional networking among workers across the country.

How should workers self-organize? How do we deal with the bosses' control of the public discourse? How do we organize in response to crisis and how do we sustain organizing when the immediate threats have passed? How do we organize to empower?

The campaign, says Mann, is "the first sustained and nonelectoral movement in the Local's history. It maintained a core of more than twenty workers over a five year period, expanded that core to as many as seventy-five workers during periods of intensified activity, involved another one hundred workers in some form of activity—phone banks, leafletting, rally monitoring—and hundreds more who attended marches, rallies and showings of *Tiger by the Tail* (a video tape produced by the Campaign).

This is current history. A year ago the Fighting Back caucus won majorities on the Local's shop committee and executive board. This past spring GM fired two of those elected workers.

Overall, Mann provides us with an insightful account of confronting the bosses over work and the urban environment in the 1980s. Who works, how, how much, what do we make, who gets hurt? Where are the factories? How do we defend and rebuild our communities? How should workers self-organize? How do we deal with the bosses' control of the public discourse? How do we organize in response to crisis and how do we sustain organizing when the immediate threats have passed? How do we organize to empower?

Mann and his fellow workers at GM Van Nuys do not have all the answers but they have confronted a number of important questions. They can even claim to have won some of the skirmishes. There are valuable and timely lessons in this book. Read it.

Shop Rat

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GDC Nominations

IWW Headquarters is accepting nominations for the position of GDC Secretary. Any one wishing to be placed on the GDC election ballot must notify Headquarters prior to September 15, 1988. This position is open to IWW members and non-members alike. For information, contact IWW Headquarters, or call the current GDC Secretary Jackie Panish at (212) 868-1121.

**Industrial Worker...
and Environmental Radicalism**



Never has a single issue of *Industrial Worker* spawned so much discussion, elicited so favorable a response, or sparked so great a controversy as did May's "Radical Environmental" issue. Never—in recent memory—has a single issue of *Industrial Worker* been so widely distributed, and so well received.

Some *IW* readers took offense at part of what they saw in the May issue of the paper (the tree-spiking cartoon, for example). We ask them to remember that the views expressed in *Industrial Worker* do not reflect the official policy of the IWW, unless so stated. The *Industrial Worker* can be inquisitive, it can be often be provocative, it can be sympathetic, it can be accusatory; in short, it aptly embodies the varied concerns and convictions of its diverse contributors. among workers and ecologists alike, if only for the fact that never has a publication heretofore attempted to so courageously address the many hard questions stemming from the several disparities and affinities that unite and at the same time separate us.

The *IW* collective has received several dozen expressions of congratulation and support from workers and environmentalists alike, who recognize that once again (as always, of course) the IWW finds itself on the very cutting edge of those issues which labor radicalism must confront if it is sincere in its stated intent to rebuild this society from the ground up.

War Tax Resistance

Suppose they wanted a war
and no one would buy it for them. . .



Barbara Fogel

"I no longer have any possessions which can be seized by the IRS," Pat Schwiebert says. "I don't even have a checking account anymore."

"That makes things difficult even to go buy food. But maybe that's good too, because it's always a reminder to us of the lifestyle we've chosen. And it shouldn't necessarily be easy because it wouldn't be easy for someone to die by a gun I'd paid for either."

Schwiebert and her husband John are tax refusers, a decision which has had an enormous effect on their lifestyle. Their wages have been garnished, their savings accounts have been confiscated, and their house seized by the IRS. "You don't ever get to *not* think

about it," Schwiebert says. "You learn to live with that," she says. "Once you've made the decision, it's actually fairly easy to live with it."

According to the National War Tax Resistance Committee (NWTRCC), the number of active tax resisters in the United States has fallen off in the years since the height of the Vietnam War when there were somewhere between 200,000 and 500,000 individuals and families involved. But as long as more than half of the national budget goes to the military and pays for wars around the world, the movement will continue.

A decision to resist military conscription is usually summed up by the old phrase: "Suppose they gave a war and nobody came." The decision to resist taxes is rooted in a similar notion: Suppose they wanted a war and nobody would buy it for them. Both draft resistance and tax refusal are often dismissed as hopeless tactics by saying that it would be impossible to organize enough people for either cause to make a difference. But of course that's what they told Ghandi, and they were massively wrong. The impossibility argument is demonstrably false, and irrelevant to boot. Civil disobedience may be used as a means to political ends, but it may also be a simple matter of conscience or moral witness. It is something that some people must do in order to live with themselves.

Whether or not it is apocryphal, there is definitely something haunting in the old story about Thoreau and Emerson. Thoreau was in jail for refusing on pacifist grounds to pay his taxes. According to legend, Emerson visited his friend and sadly asked, "What are you doing in there, Henry?" Thoreau looked out at him from behind the bars and said, "What are you doing out there, Ralph?"

Tax refusal has, and continues to take many forms, such as refusal to pay a symbolic amount, refusal to pay that percentage which reflects the military's share of the budget, refusal to pay anything at all, and refusal even to file. Each of these may have effects on a person's lifestyle. The NWTRCC adds a word of caution to most of their published materials, saying "War tax resistance is an act of civil disobedience and should not be undertaken without being informed of the possible consequences. Contact a war tax resisters' counselor or NWTRCC for more information."

However, some forms of tax refusal have small consequences, or none at all. Some

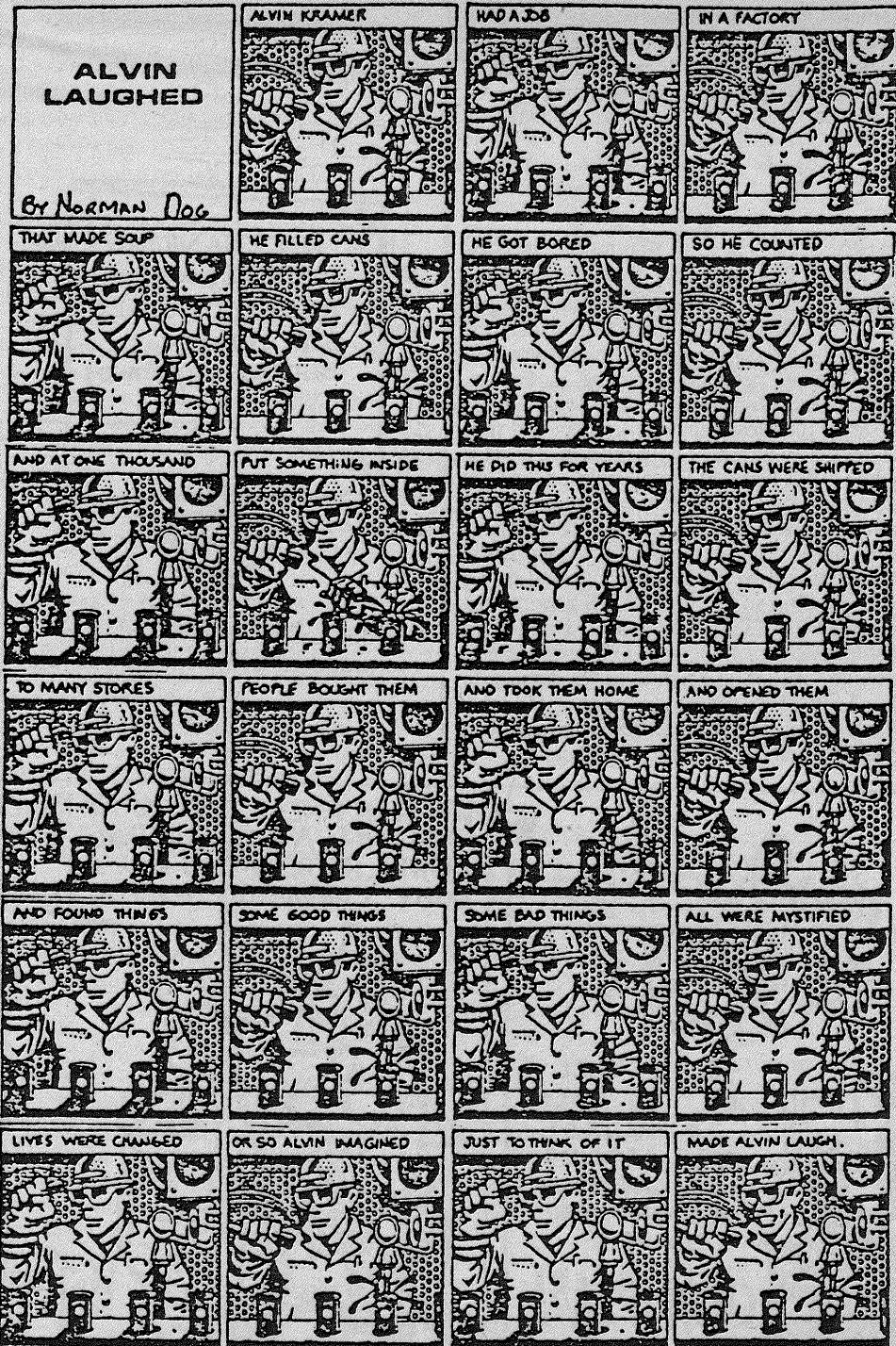
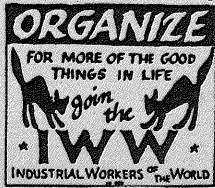
people enclose a letter of protest with their tax forms. Others refuse to pay the three percent excise tax on their phone bills. The phone tax is an especially popular target because it was first levied as a war tax during World War I, and because the phone company is prevented by law from interrupting service on the grounds of failure to pay this tax. The IRS seldom does more than send a letter since the amounts which individuals owe are so small.

Another form of tax refusal is simply choosing to live on an income below the taxable level. Although there are no federal penalties for this, it clearly demands dedication and devotion to a lifestyle which would be difficult for many people, though perfectly comfortable for others.

Many tax resisters also practice tax redirection. That is, they take the money which they would have paid in taxes and donate it to causes which they believe should be supported by tax money but aren't. But as Pat Schwiebert points out from experience, this can end up costing two and a half times what your tax alone would have been because the IRS may also attach your funds or assets for payment of the taxes plus penalties.

Portland Alliance

If you want more information on tax resistance and its consequences, write to NWTRCC, P.O. Box 85810, Seattle, WA 98145, or call (206) 522-4377.



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Initiation is \$5. Dues are \$5 if you earn \$300 or more per month, or \$2 if you are earning less. As a member you will receive a copy of *Industrial Worker* each month (Value: \$5) and will receive a copy of the *One Big Union* pamphlet, the *IWW Constitution and Bylaws*, a membership button, and of course, your IWW membership card.

Send this application with your check or money order (for your initiation fee and at least one month's dues) to IWW Headquarters in Chicago, or, if you prefer, to one of the IWW Delegates or Branches listed on page 11.

Remember... an organization like the IWW depends on *active* members, who know that a union which lacks solidarity and a participatory spirit is no union at all. Join the IWW. Don't trust to luck.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization? _____

Will you study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes? _____

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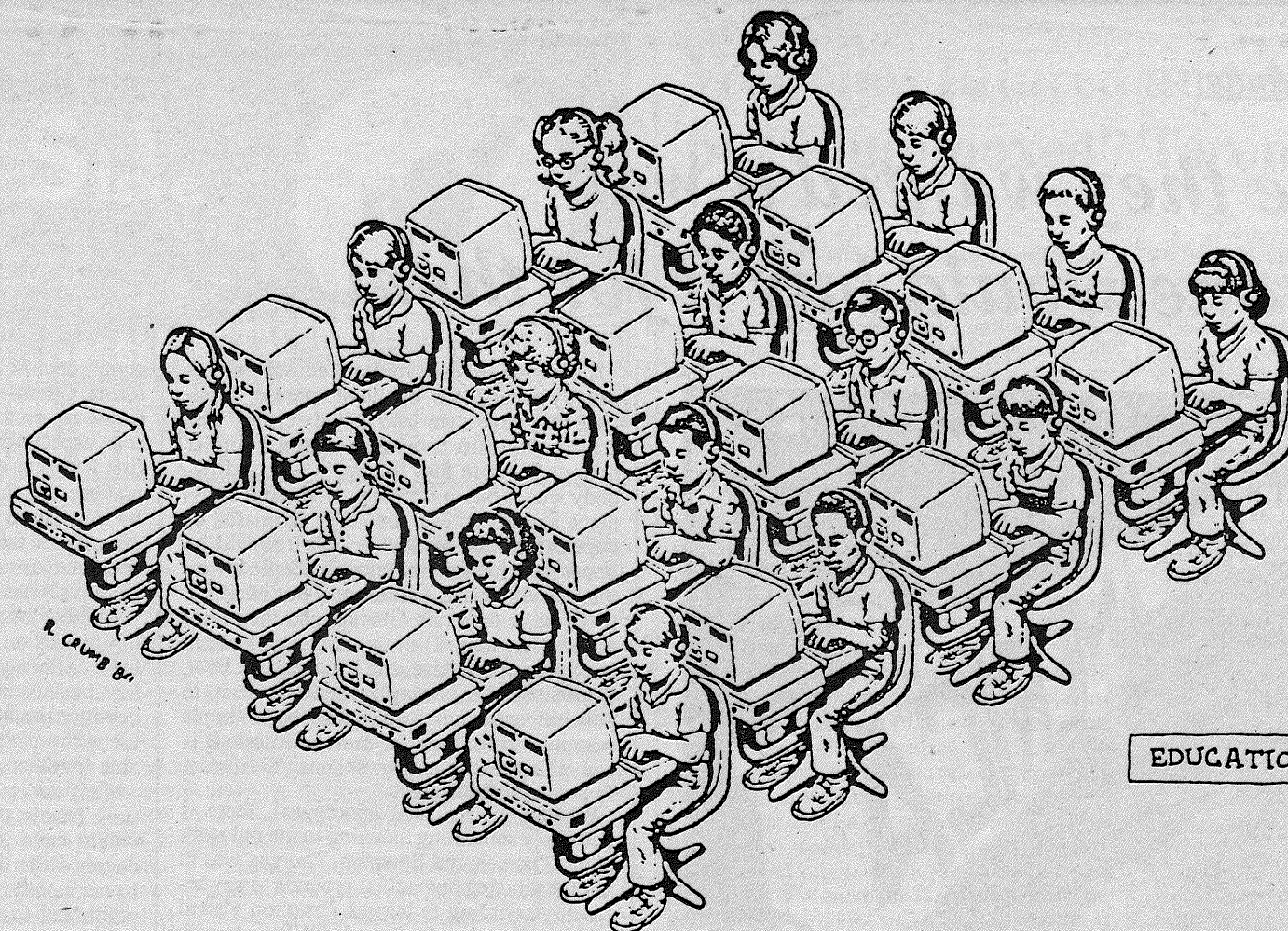
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City _____ State _____

Date _____ I. U. No. _____ Card No. _____

Initiation _____ Dues _____ Asst's. _____ Total _____

Del. Name _____ No. _____



EDUCATION

The Rumor of War

THE THIRD WORLD has imported more than three-fourths of the weapons sold since the early 1970s, and the OPEC nations accounted for 40% of Third World arms imports. But the spiraling debt, unstable commodity prices, famine and above all the drop in the price of oil has led to a cutback in Third World arms imports. One response to the arms sales drop has been for the Third World countries to commence producing their own weapons. By the mid-80s, 56 developing nations were manufacturing some type of military equipment and 19 of these were capable of producing advanced weapons systems. The other response has been for the traditional arms exporting nations—the USSR, U.S., France, Great Britain and West Germany—to lift or relax bans on controversial sales of high-tech weaponry, and to ignore the blatant human rights violations of their customers. Thus Great Britain and West Germany, both of which had formerly refused to sell weapons to Pinochet's Chile, now make frequent sales. France and Great Britain imposed arms embargoes on the participants of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the 1965 Indo-Pakistani conflict, but have shown no such restraint in the Iran-Iraq war. In the U.S., increased subsidizing of foreign arms sales—less than 20% of all assistance in 1981 but up to 75% in 1986—has helped the U.S. munitions mongers to hold on to their market share.

NEARLY 800 MILLION in the world live in dire poverty, and it is estimated that half of these suffer from famine, hunger and malnutrition. Of the 17 million people who have died in

war and war-related deaths since 1945, the overwhelming majority have been from the Third World. The events behind these statistics led the United Nations in 1987 to hold an international conference on disarmament and development to consider measures aimed at curtailing military spending and redirecting these resources to essential social services in the developing world. Although 148 nations attended the conference, including the NATO allies, the U.S. government boycotted the meeting.

"We are not attending because we believe disarmament and development are not issues which should be considered as interrelated," a U.S. official was quoted as saying.

THE PENTAGON HAS COMMISSIONED several studies which assert that foreign military sales support 265,000 to 371,000 jobs in the United States. While the figures may be exaggerated, in the regions where major contractors dominate the employment market—as in St. Louis (McDonnell), Fort Worth (General Dynamics), Seattle (Boeing), and Hartford, Connecticut (United Technologies)—unions are hard pressed not to support major arms sales that might keep production lines open.

WHY IS THE US GOVERNMENT escalating its military activities in the Persian Gulf? To keep the royal family of Saudi Arabia and the other feudal rulers of the Gulf on their thrones and so to preserve the profitable deals the US oil corporations have made with them.

AT AN ESTIMATED COST OF \$400 BILLION to \$1 trillion, the Strategic Defense Initiative is not only the largest and fastest growing program in U.S. history, but a *de facto* industrial policy. The Reagan administration has already spent \$9.5 billion in the past four years and proposes to spend another \$37 billion in the next five years for SDI research and development alone. US Research and Development and other high-technology industries are already military-oriented to a staggering degree, locking the U.S. ever more securely into a self-perpetuating war economy.

THE VALUE OF U.S. BUSINESS INTERESTS in Nazi Germany in 1941 has been estimated at \$475 million. Throughout World War II, Standard Oil continued to ship aviation fuel to the Axis powers, Ford trucks were built for German occupation troops in France, GM's Opel division developed propulsion systems for Messerschmitt fighters and provided the Wehrmacht with most of its tanks, while ITT's German firms furnished the German military with switchboards, telephones, artillery fuses, and much more. These plants eventually became targets for Allied aerial bombing and were severely damaged or destroyed. And so in 1967 the US government awarded GM \$33 million in tax exemptions to compensate for its losses. ITT received \$27 million "including \$5 million for damage to Focke-Wulf plants," says *Monthly Review*, "on the basis that they were American property bombed by Allied bombers."

MILITARY SPENDING gobbles up 55 cents of every federal income dollar; absorbs 75% of all Research and Development allocations, and has one third of all the US's top scientists and engineers under military contract, according to the Jobs With Peace Campaign.

Penny Pixler



"To the unknown civilian, who managed to avoid military service"

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KOPACK

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KENTUCKY. Louisville IWW Group, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville 37581.

LOUISIANA. Shreveport IWW Group, PO Box 37581, Shreveport 71133.

MARYLAND. Baltimore Area Branch (General Membership), PO Box 33528, Baltimore, 21218. (301)947-8385. Rosana Marino, Secretary. Meets 2nd Wednesday every month. Regional Organizing Committee, Greg Buckingham, Chair, Rt. 1, Box 137A Arvonja, VA 23004.

MASSACHUSETTS. Boston General Membership Branch, Box 454, Cambridge 02139, 617-522-7090. * Berkshire Learning Center Job Branch, 35 Curtis Terrace, Pittsfield 01201. Barry Roderick, Delegate, 45 Garden Street, Apt.5, Boston 02114.

MICHIGAN. Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197. 313-483-3478. Meetings second Monday of each month at 7:30 pm in Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. * University Cellar I.U. 660 Job Branch, 425 South Summit, Ypsilanti, 48197. * People's Warehouse I.U. 660 Job Branch c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. * Grand Rapids IWW, PO Box 211, Comstock Park, 49321. * Delegate, 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock 49930.

MINNESOTA. Minneapolis-St. Paul General Membership Branch (Nancy A. Collins, Delegate), PO Box 2245, St. Paul 55102. Meetings third Wednesday of each month.

MONTANA. Western Montana General Membership Branch Hall, 415 North Higgins, Room 104, Missoula. Open Monday through Saturday, 12-5. 800-873-4000 or 406-721-3000. A.L. Nurse, Delegate. Address all correspondence to IWW Branch, PO Box 8562, Missoula 59807.

NEW YORK. New York General Membership Branch, Box 183, New York 10028. * Rochelle Semel, Delegate, PO Box 172, Fly Creek 13337. 607-293-6489 or 212-662-8801. * Jackie Panish, Delegate, PO Box 372, Rego Park, New York 11377. 212-868-1121. * John Hansen, 302 Avenue C, Brooklyn 11218. 718-854-2692. * Henry Pfaff, Delegate, 77 Eckhart, Buffalo 14207. 716-877-6073. * Robert Young, Delegate, Box 920, Wingdale 12594. * Joe O'Shea, Delegate, Winkler's Farm, Townner's Road, Carmel 10512.

OHIO. Southwest Ohio General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee, PO Box 26381, Dayton 45426.

PENNSYLVANIA. Tom Hill, Delegate, Box 41928, Philadelphia 19101.

SOUTH CAROLINA. Harbinger Publications I.U. 450 Job Branch, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia 29201. 803-254-9398.

TEXAS. Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087. 713-921-0877.

VIRGINIA. Richmond IWW Group, PO Box 4584, Richmond, 23220-8584. 804-353-4023. * Greg Buckingham, Rte. 1, Box 137A, Arvonja, 23004.

WASHINGTON. Bellingham General Membership Branch, Box 1386, Bellingham 98227. * Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle 98144. * Spokane IWW Group, PO Box 1273, Spokane 99210. * Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan Tacoma 98405. 206-272-8119.

WISCONSIN. Madison General Membership Branch, PO Box 2605, Madison 53701. 608-251-1937 or 249-4287.

AUSTRALIA
Delegate, 417 King Street (1st Floor), Newton, Sydney.

CANADA
Vancouver General Membership Branch, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. V5N 5K5. * Toronto General Membership Branch, 20 Kensington Place, Toronto, Ontario M56 2K4. Phone c/o Blackbird Design (416) 591-7577. * Robin Oye, Delegate, 16 Wellington St. South, Kitchener, Ontario N2G 2E5. * J.B. McAndrew, Delegate, 721 Mary Avenue (1204), Burnaby V5E 3K5.

Toronto

To the astonished regret of cops and cynics alike, over one thousand assorted IWWs, socialists, anarchists and rebels of every stripe poured into Toronto this July for the annual Anarchist *Un*-Convention, populating the city for one remarkable weekend which culminated in huge protests over the U.S. bombing of the Iranian airliner July 4th (see article this issue).

Toronto IWW members put up and took down the platform upon which many of the weekend's events were staged, including FW George Dymny's performance of IWW songs from his new songbook, which was greeted with roars of approval. New York Wob Merrill Moss charmed everyone attending the IWW workshop (held at Jarvis Collegiate High School) with assorted quips and anecdotes; the workshop attracted 50-70 enthusiastic participants and a great deal of Toronto's IWW literature was sold. Special thanks go to FW Dymny for making a quick reprint of "For a World Without Bosses," and thanks also to FWs Greg Heptinstall and Paul Hall for their warm hospitality in providing housing and transportation to FW Moss over the weekend.

In order to provide financial support to those participants of the conference who were arrested during the protests, the Toronto Branch has established a legal defense fund; for information contact the Branch c/o Blackbird Design, 20 Kensington Place, Toronto, Ontario M56 2K4 or phone (416) 591-7577.

Denver-Boulder

With membership risen to 27, the tasks we're taking on are growing too. We are continuing with attempts to raise a monument for the coal miners, and will be attending a Lafayette Historical Society meeting July 14th about that. There are also hopes of placing some of the recently discovered ashes of Joe Hill at the monument at it's unveiling.

Member Mike Mehaffy was arrested at a protest against the U.S. downing of the Iranian jetliner. The protest took place at the Toronto Anarchist Convention July 1-4.

Members plan to speak briefly about the I.W.W. at the July 24th "9th Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution" celebration. Also, our chapter has been contacted to produce a labor issues radio show at KGNU public radio.

On June 23, our newly-created organizing committee had its first meeting. The *Denver Post Mailer's* Union requested our help during their informational picket (they've been asked to take a 50% wage cut), and weekly rallies are being organized in support of the local.

Joel Lewis was convicted July 18th for "trespassing" by Federal Court Judge Nathan Finesilver. Joel and his co-defendants (Bill Doub, Guthrie Smith and Jay Dillon) were arrested for their role in direct action protests outside the Rocky Flats munitions plant last May.

Despite their formal request Finesilver denied the defendants a jury trial and refused to hear expert testimony placing the role of the protest and the Rocky Flats plant itself in international and historical perspective. A sentencing hearing has been scheduled for August 15th, and an appeal has already been filed.

Minneapolis-St. Paul

The Minneapolis-St. Paul Branch has been invited to participate in a book fair and street theatre event scheduled for this fall. The Twin City Wobs tell us that the park where the festival will be held was at one time a popular hobo-jungle frequented by IWWs on their way to and from harvesting. Itinerant Wobblies used to hang their frying pans up on trees to dry, according to an old St. Paul Wobbly whom FW Collins had known. Minneapolis-St. Paul Wobs plan to set up a replica hobo-jungle at the book fair, and post a sign explaining a little of this history while selling IWW literature and copies of *Industrial Worker*.

The United Farm Workers are asking for donations to help pay for a new clinic to treat farmworkers and their families suffering from pesticide-induced illnesses. The Minneapolis-St. Paul branch reminds us to boycott grapes, and invites us to send donations for the clinic to the following address:

Rodrigo Terronez
Memorial Occupational Health Clinic
Delano, California 93215

Vancouver

The Tools—Vancouver's all-IWW dance band—has been tirelessly sowing seeds of workingclass solidarity in several appearances, including benefits for the El Salvador information office and the La Quena Coffee House on April 30th, the outdoor "Honor the Earth Festival" June 5th and a dance at the Maritime Labor Center July 9th sponsored by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Eastside Datagraphics (I.U. 450), Vancouver's worker-owned graphics and stationary shop, continues expanding and they are looking for rebel workers interested in helping the collective grow.



Wobs Help Oust Corrupt University Officials

A New Jersey student newspaper may have gotten a dangerous cop and a management-oriented dean fired this summer. *The Night Beat*, a new newspaper started by FW David Zatz and edited by a group of students including Wobs Nora Rotter and David Zatz, carried on a campaign throughout the winter to expel the dean of their college, Barbara Kovach, and the Vice-President of Public Safety, who commanded the school's police force. The Vice-President of Public Safety had, in addition to mismanaging the campus police and parking departments, threatened several people, and told a reporter he would "beat the shit out of him." The college dean, on the other hand, actively fought the needs of her students, preferring to lavish the college's resources on management training programs designed for those already in upper management. The cop has since "been retired," and the dean was removed from her post and returned to a lower position to the Business School, where she had tenure before becoming a dean. It just goes to show that the power of the press—especially when run by Wobs—can be even greater than the power of greed.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON?
THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS
OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL
THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF
THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE
MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER
AND FEWER HANDS PLACES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE
EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS
FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED
AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING
DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN THEIR WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AND
THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING
CLASS MUST INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS
WONDED ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS
IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER
A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY ORGANIZATION THEREOF, THUS FORMING

AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSCIENTIOUS PATTY, "A FARM DAY'S WORK FOR FIVE DAY'S
WAGE." WE MUST REORGANIZE OUR OWN BARRIED THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKINGMEN.

ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM.
IT IS THE HISTORIC PRISON OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO WORK WITH CAPITALISM.

THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY
STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN
CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE
ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY UNDER THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

IWW PUBLICATIONS

- | | |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> The General Strike <i>by Ralph Chaplin</i> | 2.50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> IWW Songs: The Little Red Songbook | 2.50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Collective Bargaining Manual | 2.50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Workers' Guide to Direct Action | 35 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unions and Racism | 1.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Metal Workers' Health & Safety | 50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A Quiz on You and the Arms Race | 10 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The IWW: Its First Seventy Years | |
| <i>by Fred Thompson cloth 15.00; paper</i> | 4.95 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> History of the IWW in Canada | 50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The Rebel Girl (<i>sheet music</i>) | 1.00 |
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| (LP record/IWW Songs-no discount) | 8.50 |
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- IWW POSTERS by Carlos Cortez**
- | | | |
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AVAILABLE FROM IWW LOCALS

- ☐ Out of the Depths (best book on the Ludlow Massacre), \$10 postpaid from Gary Cox, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown CO. 80534. Checks payable to Colorado Labor Forum. (All proceeds to P-9.)
- ☐ A Workers' Guide to Direct Action. .50 from N.Y. IWW, P.O. Box 183, NY 10028
- ☐ Introduction to the IWW. .10 each; bulk rate 40%, prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- ☐ Solidarity Bulletin (monthly publication) \$10/yr. from Vancouver IWW, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V5N 3K5
- ☐ Amnesty for British Miners (enamel & gold buttons) \$10 each from Chicago IWW Branch, 3435 N. Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, IL. 60657. (All proceeds to British miners.)
- ☐ Wobbly T-Shirts, \$10 postpaid from Denver-Boulder IWW Branch, P.O.Box 478, Johnstown, CO. 80534.

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